The Dissertation Committee for Timothy Kent Parker
certifies that this is the approved version of the following dissertation:

The Modern Church in Rome:

On the Interpretation of Architectural and Theological Identities, 1950-80

Committee:

Christopher Long, Co-Supervisor

Danilo Udovicki-Selb, Co-Supervisor

Mirka Benes

Maristella Casciato

Richard Cleary

Stephen Schloesser

The Modern Church in Rome:

On the Interpretation of Architectural and Theological Identities, 1950-80

by

Timothy Kent Parker, B.Arch., M.A.

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Yet nothing is more blessed than this first moment, and would that on the longest arc of development you would but constantly be curving back to this marvel of your origin! For love's full reality is inconceivably glorious.

Hans Urs von Balthasar, *Heart of the World*, 1954

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The Modern Church in Rome:

On the Interpretation of Architectural and Theological Identities, 1950-80

Timothy Kent Parker, Ph.D.

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Supervisors: Christopher Long, Danilo Udovicki-Selb

Modern religious architecture is studied and understood inadequately, partly because modernity has been considered antithetical to religious practice and belief, and partly because studies of modern religious architecture have typically sidelined its distinctively religious aspects. Furthermore, would-be interpreters have lacked an adequate interpretive framework for the modern and religious identities that together characterize modern religious architecture. Thus, the problem is rooted both in history and theory: the solution requires 1) an interdisciplinary approach to the historical context of modernity that can properly situate such buildings in architectural and religious terms, and 2) a hermeneutic that is sufficiently rich to address the religious content, yet fluid and modest enough to be fruitful even from outside such theology-laden contexts.

As identity is largely a matter of mainstream practice, the historical setting for this research is a significant but non-experimental context: post-WWII Rome. This period is marked by both a multifaceted identity crisis with distinctive political, architectural and theological aspects, and the Second Vatican Council (1962-65) that marked a shift in Catholicism's attitude towards modernity. The chief interpretive concept offering sufficient richness and fluidity to address modern religious architecture is *mediation*, relevant to both religious identity (especially on beauty and sacrament) and the identity of modern architecture (especially on ornament).

The main interlocutors here are Hans Urs von Balthasar (1905-88), Karsten Harries (1937-), Oleg Grabar (1929-), and Jacques Maritain (1882-1973). The hermeneutic framework is forged and tested through formal and phenomenological analyses of four post-WWII Catholic churches in Rome that are exemplary of four modes of *mediation*: 1) San Giovanni Bosco (1952-59), by Gaetano Rapisardi: *critique*; 2) San Gregorio VII (1959-61), by Paniconi and Pediconi: *updating*; 3) San Policarpo (1960-67), by Giuseppe Nicolosi: *retrieval*; 4) Sancta Maria Mater Ecclesiae (1965-70), Luigi Moretti's unbuilt "Chiesa del Concilio": *invention*. These analyses also reveal four distinct forms of ornament — material, tectonic, geometric, and spatial — that are discernable largely through a reconsideration of ornament as defined primarily through its mediating function. The conclusion evaluates the fecundity of the hermeneutic and suggests possibilities for further research.

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Introduction

Modern religious architecture remains relatively unstudied and insufficiently understood. This is partly because modernity has often been interpreted as antithetical to religious practice, and partly because studies of modern architecture have typically treated religious architecture without focused regard to its distinctively religious aspects. Furthermore, would-be interpreters have generally lacked an adequate hermeneutic framework with which to address the interplay between modern and religious identities that combine in the phenomenon of modern religious architecture. Thus, the problem is rooted both in history and theory: what is needed is 1) an interdisciplinary approach to the historical context of modernity that can properly situate such buildings, drawing on architectural as well as religious history, and 2) a hermeneutic that is sufficiently rich to address the religious content, but also fluid and indeterminate enough to be of value for those whose commitments and convictions place them outside such a theology-laden context.

As the topic of identity is largely a matter of mainstream practice, the historical setting for this research is a significant but non-experimental context:

post-WWII Rome. The decades following the war provide a two-fold immediate background: a multifaceted postwar identity crisis with distinctive architectural, socio-political, and theological aspects, and the Second Vatican Council (1962-65) that marked a shift in the Church's attitude towards modernity. The chief interpretive concept offering sufficient richness and fluidity to address modern religious architecture is *mediation*., relevant both to religious identity (especially on beauty and sacrament) and to the identity of modern architecture (especially on ornament).

Therefore, pursued through close analysis of a small set of Catholic parish churches from postwar Rome, each of which is exemplary of a distinct mode of mediation as an approach to the task of building a modern church, the overarching aim in this dissertation is to understand better the phenomenon of modern religious architecture. A whole host of questions naturally follows from the very concept: What does it mean to say that a particular building is modern, or that it expresses a religious identity? What does it mean to say that an example of architecture is both modern and religious? How does a religious institution, community, or practice express itself in modern terms? At root, this is a problem of theory and practice that is imbedded in complex and multiple historical contexts. Therefore, the relevant methodologies for such research are those of architectural history and theory, informed throughout by appropriate interdisciplinary considerations, chief among which are those involving modern theology and liturgy.

The theoretical problem is evident by the combination of terms in the very concept "modern religious architecture" that tend in many ways towards contradiction. Whatever else it may suggest, religion appears to be about binding together (re-legio[1]) with reference to an historical, even primordial, unity centered upon a creator or a transcendent realm. Whether the object of such binding is stated mainly in terms of ontology or tradition (as in the narrative roots of myth), it surely involves a high view of history. Indeed, religious practices are hardly comprehensible apart from the traditions that have formed them. Yet, the complicated set of phenomena and constructs that constitutes "the modern" — including the broad matrix of developments known as modernization, as well as movements to embrace, express, or engage such developments under the banner of modernism — is regularly understood to signify a critique of, or distancing from, history and tradition, in the name of progress and the commitment ever to be new.[2] Even more to the point, however, is the observation that the emergence of modernity is, in many respects if not consistently and universally, a secularizing phenomenon.[3]

To be sure, "modernity" and its cognates in this context are underdetermined: they disguise a wildly varying set of experiences and intentions, not all of which are set in opposition to history or tradition nor shift away from religious identity or practice.[4] Nevertheless, both views—breaking from history and increasing secularization—gained sufficient traction to mark the historiography of modern architecture with a relative silence regarding religious buildings, especially when

considered against their dominance across previous centuries. Furthermore, while the first modern religious buildings are by now at least a century old, and the widespread design and construction of such has continued for more than fifty years, the subject remains insufficiently acknowledged or studied in the historiography.[5] There results a dearth of interpretive concepts by which to understand these buildings, and those that are at hand are often crudely and ahistorically applied.[6]

What sense is there, then, to the notion that a building is both modern and religious? In what manner are these descriptors reconciled, held in tension, or otherwise related? To consider the "religious identity" of a building is to take a typological approach to architecture, which in turn is to ask, what is a church? (or mosque, temple, etc.), and how do viable answers become models that develop and change over time? Formally, the question of modern religious architecture is a matter of mediation, an initial kind of which is found in the variations on how to mediate past and present, or tradition and modernity, in a coherent whole. These problems of architectural theory are inextricably tied to the historical contexts out of which modernity emerges and towards which religion refers. Thus, this is a problem of architectural history but also of theory. Therefore, a corresponding aim of the research is to articulate appropriate interpretive concepts that are flexible as well as fruitful, and mediation will in fact provide a focus for this effort.

To address both aspects of the problem of modern religious architecture with adequate depth and perspicacity, a well-defined historical context is required to

provide concrete analysis in support of theoretical reflection. The choice of context will naturally affect the nature and scope of the theoretical reflection. At issue throughout the problem as outlined above, however, is the notion of modern identity as it is articulated in architectural and religious forms and ideas. This suggests focusing upon a single, well-defined religious tradition. Within a given tradition, the issue of identity is a matter of mainstream practice rather than avant-garde innovations. In other words, sorting out abiding matters of identity is inherently a mainstream phenomenon, dealing more in the ordinary than in the groundbreaking or revolutionary.[7] It is therefore appropriate to look, when considering case studies, to an institutional center, or at least not to regions known primarily for experimentation. It is likewise appropriate to delimit the timeframe to one wherein issues of identity come to the fore in a broad and diffuse manner. Accordingly, this study is limited to Roman Catholic parish churches built in Rome during the decades immediately following the Second World War and surrounding the Second Vatican Council (1962-65). As subsequent chapters will make clear, this is indeed a period of institutional re-evaluation and change, which requires attention to the shifting historical context prior to, during, and after the Council.

As the urban setting immediately surrounding the Vatican, the institutional center of the Catholic Church, the city of Rome is well-suited for a study focused upon mainstream efforts at articulating modern identity. As so memorably evoked in the opening scenes of Federico Fellini's 1959 film *La Dolce Vita*, markers of antiquity,

modernity, and the overarching presence of religion saturate the city.[8] Bologna would be more useful in searching for the earliest examples of modern Catholic churches in Italy, while France would be the obvious focus for early Catholic theological (and artistic) engagements with modernism.[9] While such contexts are important and offer insight into the origins of and emerging framework for Catholic identity as it pertains to modernity, the architectural experience is that of the avant-garde rather than the mainstream. As the broader historical and theoretical problem of modern religious architecture centers on modern (architectural and religious) identity, and as the city of Rome is so closely tied to and dominated by the Vatican culturally, the environment of Rome is appropriate to the task.

To focus on Rome during these postwar years is to frame the study against the backdrop of a Fascist "reactionary modernism" and a Vatican intransigence against modern culture and theological innovations, in contrast to which Italians then established their first democratic republic (1946) and the institutional Church embarked upon a remarkable rapprochement with modernity in the form of the Second Vatican Council (1962-65).[10] In 1907 Pope Pius X had declared "modernism" to be "the synthesis of all heresies" (Pascendi Dominici Gregis), the general opposition to which continued with subsequent Popes and led to the censure and suppression of modernist theologians during the 1950s under Pius XII. Such institutional intransigence and resistance to all that was modern was by then surely stirred up and complicated by the recent Fascist past, the end of which provided the

immediate instigation for reappraising modernity and working towards resolving a long-developing identity crisis. The Church's embroilment in the quasi-religious practices of the Fascist regime (whose totalitarian capitalization of technology was just one sign of its implicit modernity, reactionary historicizing gestures notwithstanding), against the backdrop of the failure adequately to combat the Holocaust from the highest level, was a key aspect of this identity crisis.[11] Its nineteenth-century origins were most clearly seen in the dismantling of the church's temporal powers resulting from the unification of the Italian state during the 1860s, amidst a paradoxical consolidation of institutional power in the papacy culminating in the declaration of papal infallibility during the First Vatican Council (1869-70) .[12] Thus, in the years immediately following the end of the Second World War, it was hardly to be expected that the Church would within fifteen years signal a major reorientation towards the modern world, as was evident from the initial announcement of the Council on 25 January 1959 by Pope John XXIII.[13]

Architecturally, the city of Rome and the postwar era are pertinent to the problem of modern identity in the context of Catholic tradition. The physical presence of major examples across the typological history of Christian churches, from the earliest basilicas to the flourishing of the Baroque (albeit with a dominance of classicism), in addition to the sheer quantity of such examples, marks the city with religious architectural history as almost no other city in the world. Furthermore, the number of modern parishes is remarkable: out of 340 currently existing, over 200

date from 1945 onwards, roughly half of which were built between 1945 and 1980.[14] As part and parcel of Rome's rapid postwar urbanization and population increase, new parish churches built during these years were not harbingers of major change, nor were they emblems of reactionary resistance to reform. Rather, they embodied a broad, diffuse, and ongoing attempt to give architectural form to religious identity that could do justice both to tradition and to modernity. As such, they reveal a range of approaches to this challenge that provide a broad schema for the structure of this research.[15]

Italian post-WWII architectural culture was complicated by the fact that efforts to mark oneself as distinct from the Fascist past could not rely upon any univocal sense of modernism. This is partly a matter of the political uses to which modern architecture had been put. Whereas modernism was largely disdained by the totalitarian regimes of Germany and the USSR, making its postwar appropriation a somewhat clearer case, Mussolini's propaganda and building efforts utilized some of the best modern Italian architects, often for the most prominent projects. Furthermore, whether as form language or as compositional ethos, classicism remained omnipresent in Rome. Not only did classical principles inform even the most overtly modern architecture, but more traditional conceptions of classicism had at least not been opposed by Mussolini and were therefore similarly, if to a lesser degree, tainted in the postwar situation.

The primary voices in the postwar reappraisal of Italian modernism were therefore appropriately nuanced and sought to negotiate a viable way forward, often centering around the question of whether and to what extent would the postwar practice be marked by continuity with the past. Neorealism (e.g., Mario Ridolfi) attempted a return to vernacular and regional forms even as it embraced modern building methods and materials; Formalism (often directed towards Luigi Moretti as a derogatory charge) experimented with idiosyncratic and eclectic expressions rooted in historical precedent or technological implications of, especially, reinforced concrete; and Organicism (e.g., Bruno Zevi), inspired by Frank Lloyd Wright and other American practitioners, struggled to give architectural expression to the newly democratic republic. Of these three, Neorealism became by far the most influential with regard to actual practice, especially in Rome, in part due to its relatively ready applicability to the postwar housing that was the major building challenge of the time.[16]

More generally, and considering the international scene beyond Italy and Europe, the postwar period was one in which modern architecture became widely accepted in a manner that brought issues of identity to the forefront. The canonical interpretation of modernism put forward by its earliest chroniclers and apologists—most prominently through images made popular by Philip Johnson and Henry Russell Hitchcock in their 1932 Museum of Modern Art exhibition and book, *The International Style*, which stripped modern architecture of socio-political intention

and reduced it to a style—began to be broadly accepted only in these postwar years, as the image of efficiency and international relevance was appealing to those facing the rebuilding made necessary by wartime destruction and new migration towards cities. Yet at this same time such modernism also began to be subjected to sustained critique and reformation from modern architects and theorists.[17] A similarly apolitical and dogmatic modernism promoted by Le Corbusier and echoed in the gatherings of the Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM) received widespread acceptance, yet by 1954 a new, younger generation of leadership arose within CIAM to reform its governing ideas towards more humane and socially relevant proposals.[18] While there had always been a greater variety among modernists than the foregoing would suggest, and Europeans especially had maintained a broader political commitment than was the case internationally, by the late 1960s the reaction against the overweening modernism that tended to dominate the discourse would take the form in Italy of the protest-architecture of Superstudio that mostly remained on paper or entered the marketplace repackaged as high-end furnishings.[19] Thus, the postwar period was marked by an identity crisis in architecture as well as in Catholicism, both having distinct expressions in Italy and Rome, which converge to provide a fruitful venue for considering the phenomenon of modern religious architecture.[20] That the task is fraught with difficulty is suggested by the apropos remark by Catholic theologian Edward Schillebeeckx (1914-2009): "After two

centuries of resistance, Catholics embraced the modern world just at the moment when the modern world began to distrust itself."[21]

The central feature of the challenge behind modern religious architecture is mediation, one obvious form of which involves past and present, or tradition and modernity, which suggests a focus on typological identity. With regard to religious identity, however, mediation is also a key concept for the Catholic theological context. Arguably the dominant, overarching idea informing both Catholic theology and liturgical practice, from antiquity to modernity, is that of the sacrament. Traditionally defined, since Augustine, as "outward signs of inward grace," sacraments embody the mediation at the root of religion. Such a mediation operates between the outward, tangible form and the inward, spiritual act of God. Thus, sacraments mediate the human and the divine, yet in a manner that draws upon the everyday element of human experience to signify that which transcends it. While Catholic theology acknowledges seven sacraments, two are held to be of prime importance for the regular liturgy and practice of the Church: Holy Baptism and Holy Eucharist. Baptism is the rite of regeneration into the spiritual life, by which one is incorporated into the Church; its outward and tangible sign is water. Holy Eucharist is the rite of communion with Christ, by which the divine incarnation is celebrated; its outward and tangible signs are bread and wine. In the midst of these rites, the water, bread, and wine signify (and are taken to effect or become) regeneration and the body and blood of Christ. From the smallest details of an individual rite to the

broader manner of practice, Catholicism is a sacramental tradition. As a matter of identity, the notion is that the bread or wine is indeed bread or wine, but also more, so that each embodies an explicit and tangible form that evokes transcendence.

Such a notion of "sacramental mediation" is not only relevant for understanding Catholic identity generally, it is also a key theme for understanding the work of Hans Urs von Balthasar (1905-1988), the Catholic theologian from the period most pertinent to this project. The early theological modernists of the Catholic Church were largely suppressed by the Vatican throughout the first decades of the twentieth century and faced explicit censure as late as the 1950s under Pope Pius XII (d. 9 October 1958).[22] Yet many of these same theological modernists became influential at the Second Vatican Council, primarily as a group known to represent the *nouvelle théologie* movement, including Pierre Teilhard de Chardin (1881-1955), Yves Congar (1904-1995), Henri de Lubac (1896-1991), Hans Küng (1928-), Joseph Ratzinger (1927-; now Pope Benedict XVI), Karl Rahner (1904-1984), Schillebeeckx, and von Balthasar.[23] Among these Rahner, a German Jesuit theologian who served as *peritus*, or theological expert, at the Council, went on to be viewed as a leading theologian of the "liberal" wing of the Church. By contrast, von Balthasar was not invited to the Council, yet emerged soon thereafter as a major influence upon Pope John Paul II (1978-2005) and Joseph Ratzinger (appointed a cardinal in 1977 and as Prefect of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith in 1981). As such, he is closely associated with the subsequent institutional interpretation of the Council's

reforms, which, especially after Paul VI's encyclical *Humanae Vitae* (July 1968, solidifying the traditional teaching regarding human sexuality), has often been seen to close off the developing implications of reform.

This is not to suggest that von Balthasar is merely the "conservative" to Rahner's "liberal," for matters were much more subtle and complex than any such opposition would imply.[24] Rather, von Balthasar's work in particular simply does not fit neatly into any such standard political categories, and this precisely because his work exemplifies a thoroughgoing endeavor of theological mediation.

Perhaps the clearest demonstration of this is the critique he offers on the historical-critical method of Biblical interpretation. This method is an important moment in the emergence of theological modernism, as it involved approaches to sacred scripture that acknowledged its literary character and historical origins, thereby challenging the authority traditionally attributed to the text and seeking instead to submit it to modern, scientific analysis. Thus, for example, according to standard historical-critical readings of the first five books of the Bible, the Hebrew Pentateuch, their final, canonical form is a result of editorial redaction from multiple sources of varying origins and nature, rather than a straightforward record of writings by Moses. Von Balthasar neither rejects such scholarship as inappropriately modern nor accepts it whole as radically reshaping scripture. Rather, he is critical of the underlying positivist presumptions which set out as a goal a scientific standard of precision that he sees as inherently antithetical to religious texts and the communal

experience and practice they found.[25] Similarly, he is as critical of the neo-scholasticism inherited by the institutional Church as he is of its liberal counterpoint in the demythologization project of Rudolf Bultmann (1884-1976).[26]

Aside from any single example of his position, what is most pertinent for the purposes of this dissertation is that von Balthasar's work may be characterized as fully engaging the modern world, but doing so always with an eye to the deep tradition of the Church and also always informed by an appreciation for the enduring mystical elements of religion.[27] Furthermore, von Balthasar is the only theologian to have written a comprehensive theological aesthetics.[28] It is in this work that the idea of mediation comes to the fore most prominently and with most relevance for understanding the phenomenon of modern religious architecture.

Not only is mediation at work in negotiating one's stance on history and modernity, as well as in the sacramental basis of Catholicism, it is also involved in certain fundamental concepts and models through which religious experience, including artifacts, places, and liturgies, have traditionally been understood. First is the pair of concepts, "sacred" and "holy." While they are frequently conflated, careful scholars have distinguished the two, especially in monotheistic contexts.[29] The term "sacred" designates an object or precinct that is set off from its surroundings by virtue of its having particular divine or transcendent significance or association. By contrast, "holy" refers only to that which is itself utterly transcendent and divine: in the Christian context, only God is holy, though many places, objects, and practices

may be sacred due to their association with or dedication to God.[30] So distinguished, the sacred is the venue for mediating human experience of and orientation towards the holy.

Furthermore, specific theological models for the Christian church building—theological answers to the basic typological question, what is a church?—relate to the role played by the architecture in any such mediation: a church is a *domus dei*, a house of God, or a church is a *domus ecclesiae*, a house for the assembly of worshippers.[31] Accordingly, a *domus dei* is sacred space because a deity resides therein, while a *domus ecclesiae* provides space for gathering and invokes divinity not through the architecture as much as through the event of worship. Accordingly, architectural configurations aim to inculcate distinct patterns of sacrality, involving hierarchy, procession, and orientation, or follow instead domestic ideals for evoking intimacy and appropriate liturgical focus so as to invoke the holy God. But, within any specific tradition of religious architecture, including that of Catholic parish churches, actual lived liturgical experience is more ambiguous and complex. Variations on how a church may be experienced as sacred or the holy invoked abound. While the liturgical reforms of the Second Vatican Council have at times been seen as marking a shift from the *domus dei* model to the *domus ecclesiae* model for Catholic architecture, the churches under study here demonstrate the subtler reality described by sacramental mediation.

Yet however nuanced liturgically oriented experience of a church building may be, and however the matter of modernity further complicates the interpretive challenges, the first question here remains the typological one—what is a church?—and its answer tends to require theological terms. One standard and long-standing source for such an answer is Thomas Aquinas: "The house in which the sacrament is celebrated signifies the Church and is called 'church'," which Karsten Harries glosses as: the church building is a sign of the invisible Church.[32] Harries's seminal work in *The Bavarian Rococo Church: Between Faith and Aestheticism*, acknowledges the importance of theological and intellectual history for understanding church architecture, and considers the relevant variations upon Aquinas's definition for the purposes of analyzing what he argues to be the last of the historical styles to attempt to embody such an idea, the Rococo. The primary variation is the church as an image or figure of the "City of God," derived from Augustine and meaning the spiritual community of the Church, which in turn employs several more specific forms, all understood analogically: the church façade as the gate of heaven, the church itself as the temple of the new Jerusalem or Noah's ark, and the enclosure of the church as a refuge, with frequent references to the church as the Virgin Mary, the "mother of God." Light plays an important role in articulating and expressing these, as is especially evident in the monumental medieval cathedrals.[33] Acknowledging that church buildings may be considered sacred because of the sacrament celebrated therein, Harries nonetheless observes that the church is often more than that, as one

would expect from Aquinas's definition.[34] Even when not fully modeled on a *domus dei* concept, Christian churches have tended to be designed and experienced as signs of the Church, the conceptions of which have varied according to time and place.

But through this variation, a crisis arises with the advent of Enlightenment philosophy and theology, concomitant in many ways with the coming of modernity, which renders the "reading" of a church as a sign of the invisible Church problematic. This crisis is the central focus of Harries's book. The chief architectural theme that enables such a reading is ornament, the forms within a church that organize the parts and thereby mediate the experience of the viewer or worshipper in ways that convey the intended conception of the invisible Church as embodied in the church building.[35] He analyzes the Bavarian Rococo church because it is here that ornament dies, for as it ceases to function as ornament and becomes autonomous, it becomes therefore meaningless, unable to mediate the experience of the church as a sign of the invisible Church. No longer a "living ornament," it is unable to perform its "ethical function" of forming and expressing the ethos of the community.[36] As such, it presents a communicative crisis grounded in the world of forms.

Therefore, considering the question, what is a church?, the advent of modernity complicates the matter of how any answer to this question is expressed and interpreted architecturally. A second question must follow from the problem of modern religious architecture, then: what is the relation of art to Christian religion? This in turn concerns the relation between figuration and abstraction, especially so

given the Biblical prohibition against figuration and the communicative crisis of ornament explored by Harries.

Up to this point, I have mostly relied upon what could be called theology-laden concepts as relevant for understanding modern (as well as historical) religious architecture: sacramental mediation, the sacred, the holy, *domus dei*, *domus ecclesiae*, and the variations on the church as a sign of the Church.[37] But, a central (even if not defining) condition of modernity is surely the increasing critique of religion, whether taking the form of secularism, demythologization, or just the waning of religious authority amidst splintering denominational claims. Whether construed and experienced as the death of God (as Nietzsche had it) or simply the falling apart of Christendom (as Christianity's institutional metanarrative), this means that, for anyone outside of the given religious tradition, such concepts are fragile and of limited value. Yet for those within the community, interpretation entirely without such concepts rings hollow.

A recent, more far-reaching version of this critique is found in the so-called *sui generis* debate among religious studies scholars, such as Timothy Fitzgerald, who argues that the subject of study called "religion" is an ideological construct with distinctly western, Christian theological origins and does not actually exist as a phenomenon unto itself.[38] A common theme throughout this debate is the now long-standing critique of the domination (and initial formation) of the field by

phenomenologists, who (it is alleged) presume as an ineluctable feature of human experience some manifestation of or encounter with "the sacred."[39] Underlying such debates is the remaking of religion during the Enlightenment according to the use by liberal Protestants of anthropological and sociological perspectives upon human history, such that the distinction between religion and superstition is used to relegate the communal, ritual, and typically Catholic forms of religious practice to the pre-modern or colonial world. The study of religion along comparative, historical, and phenomenological lines that came to dominate the twentieth century academic approach after the Second World War emphasized the idea of mystical experience that is understandable in terms of symbol and myth, yet exists essentially beyond specific religious institutions, texts, and moral codes, and is therefore open to appropriation in the formation of a general theory of religion.[40]

Furthermore, there is no question that scholars of architectural history and theory, as well as many architects, have found phenomenology to be an attractive methodological orientation for pursuing holistic and detailed interpretations, perhaps largely because so often it has been widely but at times indiscriminately applied. But an interpretive framework that would be adequate to the full range of challenges presented by modern religious architecture should enable readings of such buildings that do not rely for their meaning upon theology-laden concepts. Yet it should also enrich the use of such concepts in contexts where they are shared and so are deemed appropriate.[41] Therefore, what is required is an interpretive framework

that is sufficiently pointed to be of use in theology-laden contexts, but is also generic enough for broader situations.

The crux of the matter here is helpfully brought out by reflecting on one answer to the typological question (what is a church?) that Harries acknowledges but does not pursue, claiming it not to apply to the case of the Bavarian Rococo.[42] It is the subject of a provocative reflection by the late liturgical scholar Aidan Kavanaugh, however, which makes clear both the continuing relevance of phenomenological interpretations and the manner in which typological considerations tend at least to suggest some use of theology-laden terms. In "Seeing Liturgically," an essay whose title suggests its phenomenological orientation, Kavanagh argues that the root metaphor for the church that emerged out of late antiquity is that of the Body of Christ.[43] He suggests that this metaphor provided countercultural and community-defining ways of seeing that informed the subsequent centuries of ecclesiastical art and architecture and remain valid, if challenging, today. According to this analysis, "seeing liturgically" involves seeing such art and architecture in light of their liturgical use and their grounding in the root metaphor. This in turn means that a certain phenomenological approach is appropriate to capture the totality of the church as the Body of Christ, which involves seeing the architecture in particular modes: vertically, in motion, sacramentally, and as permeating the entire built environment.[44] That is, insofar as one seeks to interpret a church *as a church*, one will

be drawn into the realm of theology-laden terms, unless an explicitly non-theological stance towards religion is adopted at the outset.

With the critical reflection on the modern ideological construct of "religion" in mind, the challenge is to articulate a hermeneutic framework that will allow a typological reading that does not rely upon theology-laden concepts but still addresses the fullness of the work of architecture. Mediation, properly expanded beyond the theological settings, can provide some suggestions. This is so because mediation is central to understanding not only the signature phenomenon at work in religion, especially as traditionally understood and in the theological aesthetics proposed by von Balthasar, but also the phenomenon that is arguably the most constitutive for modernism in architecture, namely, ornament. The polemics surrounding ornament, from its purported banishment to efforts at inventing it anew, frame much of the ongoing challenge of understanding modernism.[45] And surely a central aspect of this is the communicative crisis addressed by Harries.

A promising approach to ornament that emphasizes its function and is rich in implications regarding modernism is that developed by Oleg Grabar in *The Mediation of Ornament*, which proposes to redefine ornament in terms of its function rather than its form.[46] Both Grabar and Harries agree that ornament functions as an intermediary, yet Harries does so only implicitly and maintains the assumption that ornament is otherwise identified through its form. When its form becomes autonomous is ceases to function as a real intermediary and thus dies as ornament.

But Grabar seeks to reconfigure the definition of ornament altogether, unsatisfied as he is by the history of discourse surrounding ornament since, however much ornamental forms may order elements of a composition and thereby facilitate messages of hierarchy, etc., they do not appear to do so universally. Plus, ornamental forms are simultaneously held to be subsidiary to the artwork yet the exclusive locus of its beauty. Therefore, he argues that after each account of ornament is stripped of its inessential or contradictory attributes, what remains is simply that ornament always carries beauty and provides pleasure, and that it does this always as an intermediary between the viewer and the work of art.

Grabar concludes that ornament is best conceived—indeed, defined—as nothing more than this mediation: whatever mediates in this manner, to complete the work of art while not itself being the artwork, regardless of form, is ornament. He identifies four such common intermediaries in art, presuming the list to be incomplete. While Grabar addresses neither modernism (except as a limiting case within his review of art history and theory concerning ornament) nor architectural ornament (except obliquely to acknowledge that architecture itself seems to function as an ornament to human activity), the suggestion that ornament is nothing more than that which mediates the experience of the work of art provides a possible way forward out of the communicative crisis at the center of Harries's work. The waning of Rococo ornament's intermediary function is a failure to communicate that is not reversed with the nineteenth century return of ornament, for these later

historicist forms were no longer living, which is just to say that the form languages themselves were no longer considered viable: their content had been eclipsed by their form.[47]

To return to von Balthasar, his project of a theological aesthetics is rooted in an analysis similar to Harries's, though centered of course upon theological systems. He begins his seven-volume theological aesthetics by claiming that he is turning to "the third transcendental" in order to reclaim and renew the part of the classical triad that had been eclipsed since the Renaissance: the beautiful would be restored to the good and the true (the second and first transcendentals).[48] In pursuing this project, he founds the structure of the resultant aesthetics on the logic of mediation, as it is at work through the theology-laden concept of incarnation, or God's self-revelation. While the fuller historical setting informing the problem of a theological aesthetics will be discussed in the following chapter, it is here worth noting that his account of the theological waning of the beautiful is given in terms of form and content (among other categories), with the mid-nineteenth century being the epitome of the crisis in that theology is then reduced to a science and results in empty form.[49]

Thus, taking the themes so far identified in Harries, Grabar, and von Balthasar, the basic outline of a promising hermeneutic framework can be sketched. If the crisis of modernity in architecture and religion can be related to form and content, and so to the matter of figuration versus abstraction (the question of art's

relation to religion), and is marked throughout with appeals to the value of mediation (which undergirds the question, what is a church?), the research presented here is structured as follows:

Beginning with the most obvious matter of mediation concerning modern identity, which is the architectural negotiation between history and the present, and attending to post-WWII parish churches in Rome in view of their specific historical contexts, I visited and documented almost forty such churches from all parts of the city. On the basis of initial study following the visits, return repeat visits and extended time spent in subsets of the churches, there emerged four basic approaches, or modes of mediation, to this question of how to relate history to modernity. Four individual churches also emerged as most promising for further research and as most fruitful as exemplars of these four modes of mediation.

The four basic modes as exemplified by the four case study churches are provisionally characterized by single-word descriptors: 1) S. Giovanni Bosco, by Gaetano Rapisardi (1952-59), is a case of **critique**, wherein the recent past is engaged with the objective of reworking and reforming prevalent meanings; 2) S. Gregorio VII, by Paniconi and Pediconi (1957-61), is a case of **updating**, taking up pre-existing models and modernizing them, carrying them forward with modifications for use in a new context; 3) S. Policarpo, by Giuseppe Nicolosi (1960-67), is a case of **retrieval**, appealing to deeper, more remote models for reclamation in the making of a modern church; 4) Sancta Maria Mater Ecclesiae, Luigi Moretti's unbuilt "Chiesa del

Concilio" (1965-70), is a case of **invention** that displays the starkest break from the past yet appeals nonetheless to various historical themes and ideas.

While the case study chapters are dedicated analyses of the individual churches, the distribution of the four churches nevertheless provides valuable opportunities for certain topographical considerations. S. Giovanni Bosco and S. Policarpo are both in the Tuscolana district, to the southeast of the city center, and are close enough to one another and sited among the city fabric in such a way that their relationship is a factor to address. S. Gregorio VII is the closest of the postwar churches to the historic center of Rome and to the Vatican, so the proximity of St. Peter's comes into the discussion. And Sancta Maria Mater Ecclesiae, being an important but unbuilt project expressly designed to celebrate the Second Vatican Council, allows for a focused study of a more or less direct attempt at manifesting theological ideas in architecture. As it was proposed for the EUR region to the south of the city, which itself has a history tied to Fascism as well as to the postwar economic development and expansion of the city, Sancta Maria Mater Ecclesiae also provides for such issues to come to the fore.

For each case study, I will offer a bifurcated analysis, beginning with a typological reading that seeks to avoid theology-laden terms but to identify the dominant mode of mediation at work in the architecture. I will also seek to articulate the form of ornament that enables the mediation, such as it appears in the particular church at hand. This should result in a provisional reading of the building

that addresses a distinctively modern notion of ornament, not circumscribed by form though likely involving formal attributes, as well as incorporates a view of the experience of the whole in terms of its constituent parts. Then I will follow with an unapologetically phenomenological-theological reading, building upon the typological analysis but also open to theology-laden terms and structured around embodied, liturgically-oriented experience. This will be directed towards the larger meaning of "Church" implicit in the liturgical revelation of beauty as the divine Glory.

Modes of mediation, forms of ornament, and liturgical revelations of beauty: these are the key themes of the proposed hermeneutic framework. Defining ornament as mediation and away from form may allow a better reading of how modern churches in fact succeed to the degree that they do despite the waning of historical form languages. Ornament as mediation may also shed new light on the matter of figuration and abstraction, for the ornamental is often equated with the figurative in this debate, yet architectural ornament is in some respects the most abstract part.

A final note on methodology: following upon the fieldwork of time spent in and around each church with increasing amounts of time spent as the core group of churches diminished in number, the final set of four case study churches were investigated through all the relevant primary and secondary sources I could locate.

Architects' archives were not always available, but all that were consulted are included in the bibliography and introduced there with a summary statement of their contents. However, given the emphasis upon mainstream development of identity as appropriate for this project and the liturgical-phenomenological approach serving the theology-laden analyses, the buildings themselves served as the most important primary sources and were interpreted as texts in their own right. There are limits to such interpretation, of course, as well as theoretical grounding.[50] Beyond both this and the historical and theoretical background, however, close attention to the writings of the architects involved as well as to the surrounding discourse on contemporaneous church design in Rome—most prominently through the local journal *Fede e arte*~ but also including built comparanda—will help to situate the churches in their proper context.

Introduction notes

[1] The etymological note under "religion" in the Oxford English Dictionary includes the following: "*re-* re- *prefix* + a second element of uncertain origin; by Cicero connected with relegere to read over again. . . so that the supposed original sense of 'religion' would have been 'painstaking observance of rites', but by later authors (especially by early Christian writers) with *religāre* religate v., 'religion' being taken as 'that which ties believers to God'. Each view finds supporters among modern scholars." The two senses of the term loosely map onto "ritual studies" and sociologically informed approaches to the study of religion in the first instance, and in the second the tradition of phenomenologically oriented historians of religion, most prominently Mircea Eliade. For criticism that such methods harbor implicit (and illicit) presumptions concerning "the sacred" to which humans seek to be rebound, see Jonathan Z. Smith, *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1987). See also Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1959). For more recent debate about the cogency of the term for the field of religious studies, see Timothy Fitzgerald, *The Ideology of Religious Studies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), and Jonathan Z. Smith, "Religion, Religions, Religious," in *Critical Terms for Religious Studies*, edited by Mark C. Taylor (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998): 269-84.

[2] These terms are of course related in complex ways that continue to be debated, as does the interpretation of modernism (in architecture as well as in other fields) with respect to its attitude towards history. For the purposes of this dissertation, "modernity" is the broad cultural term indicating a period or place having been marked by the results of "modernization," which in turn includes the dominance of post-Cartesian and especially post-Kantian rationality, industrialization, urbanization, liberal democratic political structures and ideals, and an overarching presumption of progress. Thus various origins are postulated, yet all are dependent upon the distinctly "modern" penchant for historical periodization, within which the present and future are privileged as in some significant sense having surpassed traditional, "pre-modern" societies. "Modernity" is thus as much an ideological construct as it is a set of phenomena. "Modernism" describes more or less organized movements in particular fields, which seek explicitly to engage modernity rather than merely oppose it. Objectives of such engagement vary: some mainly champion modernity while others primarily critique it, often in order to mitigate certain negative consequences of modernization. The common orientation amidst these differences is the focus upon the present and the future, typically rejecting or at least distancing oneself from the past in some manner. For just one indication of the ongoing discourse surrounding "modernity" and its cognates, see the interdisciplinary journal, *Modernism/Modernity* and the sponsoring Modernist Studies Association.

[3] The "secularization thesis," according to which the waning of religious belief is constitutive of modernity has surely been challenged in recent years; see, from among many: Talal Asad, *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity* (Sanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003), and Charles Taylor, *The Secular Age* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007).

[4] All that surrounds the notion of "postmodernity" is similarly underdetermined; this will not be a focus throughout the bulk of this dissertation, but will come up for some discussion in the Conclusion.

[5] One must consider Frank Lloyd Wright's Unity Temple, Oak Park, IL (1904), as among the first exemplars of explicitly modern religious architecture; see, for a solid and comprehensive treatment, Joseph Siry, *Unity Temple: Frank lloyd Wright and Architecture for Liberal Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

[6] Studies that focus most directly on modernism and religious architecture are typically picture books [e.g., Edwin Heathcote and Iona Spens, *Church Builders* (Chichester: Academy Editions, 1997); Wolfgang Jean Stock, ed., *European Church Architecture 1950-2000* (Munich: Prestel, 2002); Albert Christ-Janer and Mary Mix Foley, *Modern Church Architecture: A Guide to the Form and Spirit of 20th Century Religious Buildings* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962); G. E. Kidder Smith, *The New Churches of Europe* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964)], more narrowly defined analysis of single architects [e.g., (Amedeo Belluzzi, Giovanni Michelucci, and Claudia Conforti, *Lo spazio sacro nell'architettura di Giovanni Michelucci, Archivi di architettura* (Torino; Milano: U. Allemandi; Messaggerie libri, 1987); Victoria Marie Young, "St. John's Abbey Church, Collegeville, Minnesota (1953-1961): The Benedictines and Marcel Breuer Search for the Sacred," PhD dissertation, University of Virginia, 2003], or reports on specific congresses [e.g., E. Carr, *Architettura e arti per la liturgia: atti del V Congresso internazionale di liturgia, Roma, Pontificio Istituto Liturgico, 12-15 ottobre 1999* (Roma: Centro studi S. Anselmo, 2001); (*The Assisi Papers: Proceedings of the First International Congress of Pastoral Liturgy* (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1957); (Adriano Di Bonaventura, *Atti del convegno di Pescara, 27-29 gennaio 1989, su il sacro, l'architettura sacra oggi* (Rimini: Il Cerchio, 1990); Luciano Gherardi, ed., *Dieci anni di architettura sacra in Italia, 1945-1955* (Bologna: Edizione dell'Ufficio tecnico organizzativo arcivescovile, 1956); (Rolfe Lanier Hunt, ed., *Revolution, Place, and Symbol: Journal of the First International Congress on Religion, Architecture and the Visual Arts* (New York: [s.n.], 1969)].

[7] See Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self: The Making of Modern Identity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989).

[8] The opening scenes and the film as a whole invoke not just the coincidence of multiple identities but a palpable sense of a postwar identity crisis; see the discussion

in Peter Bondanella, *Roman Images in the Modern World* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1987), 238-39.

[9] For Bologna, see Glauco Gresleri, *Chiesa e quartiere: storia di una rivista e di movimento per l'architettura a Bologna* (Bologna: Compositori, 2004); more generally, see Marvin R. O'Connell, *Critics on Trial: An Introduction to the Catholic Modernist Crisis* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1994) and Stephen Schloesser, *Jazz Age Catholicism: Mystic Modernism in Postwar Paris, 1919-1933* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005).

[10] See Geoffrey Herf, *Reactionary Modernism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) for the concept, combining explicit celebration and embrace of modern technology with nostalgic appeals to idealized forms of history and tradition, as evident in the case of the rise of National Socialism.

[11] See Michael Phayer, *The Catholic Church and the Holocaust, 1930-65* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2000) for an analysis of the Vatican's failure under Pope Pius XII (1939-58) to condemn and oppose Nazi atrocities during the war even as it made partial attempts to counter their effects and aid Jews. Phayer attributes this failure to the pope's view of the Soviet Communist threat and value to maintain the Church's potential role as mediator in order to minimize further warfare globally. See also Carlo Falconi, *The Silence of Pius XII*, trans. Bernard Wall (Boston, MA: Little, Brown, 1970). Individual Catholics, priests and lay-persons, certainly were involved enough in the resistance that Roberto Rossellini's *Roma città aperta* (1946), the first major postwar film and the first globally known (due to winning the Grand Prize at Cannes) neorealist film, portrayed the sacrificial assistance given by the parish priest, Don Pietro.

[12] See Nicholas Atkin and Frank Tallett, *Priests, Prelates & People: A History of European Catholicism since 1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

[13] Despite the announcement being short on specifics, it was remarkable for being both couched in positive rather than disciplinary, negative terms (the dominant tradition with councils), as well as including an ecumenical invitation to non-Catholics to participate. See John W. O'Malley, *What Happened at Vatican II* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 15-18.

[14] See Stefano Mavilio, *Guida all'architetura sacra: Roma 1945-2005* (Milan: Electa, 2006); see also the Diocesan online catalogue of parishes at: http://www.diocesidiroma.it.

[15] See the Appendix, a Catalogue of Postwar Parish Churches in Rome, for pertinent information on the range of churches directly visited and studied over the course of this research.

[16] The immediate postwar enthusiasm surrounding organicism, seen especially through the work in Rome of the Associazione per l'Architettura Organica (APAO) and its journal *Metron*, both centered around and founded by Bruno Zevi, paved the way for the success of Neorealism by emphasizing the psychological needs of people with respect to the built environment. See Maristella Casciato, "Neorealism in Italian Architecture," in *Anxious Modernisms: Experimentation in Postwar Architectural Culture*, edited by Sarah Williams Goldhagen and Réjean Legault (Montréal and Cambridge, MA: Canadian Centre for Architecture and The MIT Press, 2000), 25-53.

[17] For a detailed study of canon formation in architecture see J. P. Bonta, *Architecture and its Interpretation* (New York: Rizzoli, 1979).

[18] The efforts of CIAM during the war years were dominated by Le Corbusier and were apolitical in the sense that they sought the political means to effect the urban planning changes they envisioned wherever such power was to be found. See Kenneth Frampton's chapter on CIAM in *Modern Architecture: A Critical History*, 3rd ed. (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980), 269-79 and, for the fuller story, Eric Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928-60* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2000).

[19] See Peter Lang, *Superstudio: Life without Objects* (Milan: Skira, 2003).

[20] There was of course a difference in the way in which the respective identity crises were perceived, for while within the architectural community in Italy (and elsewhere) the question of continuity was widely and publicly debated, the postwar institutional Church presented itself very much in control. There was in fact some consideration of convening a council under Pius XII in the early 1950s, but such possibilities were kept quite secret at the time. O'Malley, *What Happened*, 17.

[21] Quoted in David Tracy, "The Uneasy Alliance Reconceived: Catholic Theological Method, Modernity, and Postmodernity," *Theological Studies* 50 (1989): 556. Schillebeeckx was a Dominican theologian associated with the Nouvelle Théologie movement among modern Catholic theologians that was influential in shaping the reforms of the Council.

[22] For one of the best treatments of this early period in relation to modernism, focusing on the generation immediately preceding the Nouvelle Théologie, see Marvin R. O'Connell, *Critics on Trial: An Introduction to the Catholic Modernist Crisis* (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1994).

[23] After the Council there emerged diverging interpretations of its intent and the proper implications to be drawn from its reforms. This was reflected by the subsequent history of the Nouvelle Théologie movement, which basically broke into two groups, with one side (including Rahner, Congar, Schillebeeckx, and Küng)

founding in 1965 the journal *Concilium*, and the other (including de Lubac, von Balthasar, and Ratzinger) founding in 1972 the journal *Communio*.

[24] Nevertheless, the contrast is palpable and significant. For an illuminating examination of the two theologians, paying close attention to the philosophical differences at work, see Rowan Williams, "Balthasar and Rahner," in *The Analogy of Beauty: The Theology of Hans Urs von Balthasar*, edited by John Riches (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1986), 11-34.

[25] For a particularly pithy statement of this, see his *The Glory of the Lord: A Theological Aesthetics, Volume I: Seeing the Form*, translated by Erasmo Leiva-Merikakis and edited by Joseph Fessio, S.J., and John Riches (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1982): 26-34. It should be noted that one of the pre-conciliar suggestions of an incremental openness to modernity was the approval of historical-critical methods, against the previously consistent condemnation by the Church, given by Pope Pius XII in his 1943 encyclical *Divino Afflante Spiritu*. For Bultmann, see *The Mythological Element in the Message of the New Testament and the Problem of its Re-interpretation, Part I: The Task of Demythologizing the New Testament Proclamation; Part II: Demythologizing in Outline* (London: SPCK, 1953 [1941]).

[26] Neo-scholasticism was a common point of criticism among Catholic modernists, even as they often sought to honor its origin in the work of Thomas Aquinas, for by the mid-nineteenth century scholastic philosophy and theology was typically taught in reductive, formulaic versions from textbooks that bore scant resemblance to the *Summa Theologica* and in fact rarely required students to read any of the original texts.

[27] An additional marker of the "intermediary" nature of his work is the crucial fact that, while remaining a Catholic theologian, one of his primary (and acknowledged) theological debts is to the major Protestant theologian of the twentieth century, Karl Barth. This clearly gave his theology a typically Protestant "Christological" emphasis. Furthermore, and more recently, von Balthasar is now a central source for the work of Radical Orthodox theologians, who are decidedly post-modern in their orientation; e.g., see Lucy Gardner, David Moss, Ben Quash, and Graham Ward, *Balthasar at the End of Modernity* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1999).

[28] Hans Urs von Balthasar, *The Glory of the Lord: A Theological Aesthetics*, VII volumes, edited by Joseph Fessio, S.J., and John Riches (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1982-90). Originally published in German, *Herrlichkeit: Eine theologische Ästhetik* (Einsiedeln: Johannes Verlag, 1961-69). The Theological Aesthetics is in turn just the first part of his monumental trilogy, including the Theo-Drama and the Theologic, each multi-volume works, with each part properly understood in light of the whole.

[29] This distinction is especially important for monotheistic religions because, as Emmanuel Levinas has shown, conflating the two risks idolatry; see "Desacralization

and Disenchantment," in *Nine Talmudic Readings* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 136-60. The text originally appeared in *L'autre dans la conscience juive: Le sacré et le couple: Donnés et débates* (Paris: P.U.F., 1973), 55-74, and was later published in the collection, *Du sacré au saint: cinq nouvelles lectures talmudiques* (Les Éditions de Minuit, 1977). Among recent work on religious architecture, Richard Kieckhefer's analyses in *Theology in Stone: Church Architecture from Byzantium to Berkeley* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2004) stands out for the careful attention he gives to this distinction and to the subtle interplay between the concepts.

[30] See in this context the foundational treatments in Rudolf Otto, *The Idea of the Holy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1923) and Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1959).

[31] To be more precise, the "house church" has been distinguished by L. Michael White from a *domus ecclesiae*, or the "house of the church," with the former indicating an unrenovated house used by the community for worship and the latter meaning a remodeled house given over for dedicated use by the community. In both cases, however, the architectural environment is domestic and non-monumental in character. See *The Social Origins of Christian Architecture, vol. 1: Building God's House in the Roman World: Architectural Adaptation among Pagans, Jews and Christians* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press, 1996), 102-139.

[32] Aquinas is quoted by Harries in *The Bavarian Rococo Church: Between Faith and Aestheticism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1983), 8; Aquinas's definition is found in the *Summa theologica*, III, 83, 3, ad 2m.

[33] Harries, *The Bavarian Rococo*, 176-77.

[34] Ibid., 157.

[35] Examples would include: the marking of hierarchy within a longitudinally striated nave to emphasize the liturgical east end as a special place of encounter with the divine (most any basilica); the ornamental sculptural program on a west portal depicting scenes of the last judgment as an indication of entry into the divine economy (Chartres Cathedral and many others); the references to triumphal arch forms on a façade to indicate the eschatological City of God (Alberti's S. Andrea in Mantua); the stucco ornamental zone mediating between the architecture below and the frescoed ceiling representing the heavens above (Harries's "exemplary Rococo church," the pilgrimage church in Steinhausen; Ibid., 68-72). For a detailed study of the ways in which such articulation of a building's elements occurs through ornament and its perception by the human viewer, such as by framing, filling, and linking, see E. H. Gombrich, *The Sense of Order: A Study in the Psychology of Decorative Art* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1979).

[36] Harries, *The Bavarian Rococo*, 248-53.

[37] I use the term "theology-laden" to particularize to the present context the argument that experience is inherently interpretive because it is "theory-laden." See Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), and Paul Feyerabend, *Realism, Rationalism, and Scientific Method: Philosophical Papers, Volume 1* and *Problems of Empiricism: Philosophical Papers, Volume 2* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

[38] See Timothy Fitzgerald, *The Ideology of Religious Studies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000). For a similar argument with different implications for the study of "religion," see Jonathan Z. Smith, "Religion, Religions, Religious," in *Critical Terms for Religious Studies*, edited by Mark C. Taylor (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998): 269-84.

[39] Perhaps the chief phenomenologist under attack has been Mircea Eliade, whose quintessential work in this regard is *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1959). The groundbreaking critique of Eliade is Jonathan Z. Smith, *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1987).

[40] For a fuller explanation of the debates surrounding "religion" see E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *Theories of Primitive Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965) and Steven M. Wasserstrom, *Religion after Religion: Gershom Scholem, Mircea Eliade, and Henry Corbin at Eranos* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999).

[41] The situation is analogous to the practice of theology as opposed to philosophy of religion; the two should not be conflated, and only members of religious faith traditions can really be said to do theology, strictly speaking, yet theology is regularly enriched by the contributions of philosophers of religion.

[42] Harries, *The Bavarian Rococo*, 269, n. 2.

[43] Aidan Kavanagh, "Seeing Liturgically," in *Time and Community: In Honor of Thomas Julian Talley* (Washington: Pastoral Press, 1990): 255-278.

[44] Kavanagh, "Seeing Liturgically," 270.

[45] See Tim Culvahouse, "On Ideas: Hello. . . Is Anybody Out There?" *Harvard Design Magazine* 9 (Fall, 1999): 84-88.

[46] Oleg Grabar, *The Mediation of Ornament* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992).

[47] Or, as Harries phrases it: "ornament dies of its own beauty." *The Bavarian Rococo*, 243.

[48] *The Glory of the Lord*, I, from the Foreword, n. p. It should be acknowledged that von Balthasar is following here a medieval accretion, for the classical triad was rather being, truth, and the good.

[49] Ibid., I, 74.

[50] See, primarily, on the matter of explanation and interpretation, Paul Ricoeur, *Hermeneutics and the Human Sciences: Essays on Language, Action, and Interpretation*, translated by J. B. Thompson (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1981) and Alberto Pérez-Gómez, "Hermeneutics as Discourse in Design," *Design Issues* 15, no. 2 (1999): 71-79. See also a recent and rather monumental attempt at a systematic hermeneutics of religious architecture that seeks to expand the use of buildings as themselves primary sources for historians of religion but does not directly address modern architecture: Lindsay Jones, *The Hermeneutics of Sacred Architecture: Experience, Interpretation, Comparison*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000).

Chapter 1

Historical Background

The modern church in Rome arises out of a distinct and complicated history characterized by controversy over matters of identity. The implicit contradictions between religion and modernity exacerbate the difficulty of understanding modern religious architecture in general, as the type is not only subject to conflicting interpretations but also involves multiple and not necessarily commensurable discourses. Such difficulty underlines the interpretive importance of mediation between past and present through the filter of history and modernity, but it also suggests the necessity of considering multiple background narratives. While the most obvious locus for addressing the relationship between architecture and religion may be liturgical forms and their implications, the focus here is on the historical and theoretical interpretive challenges of such architecture. The immediate setting of postwar churches in Italy is best understood, therefore, when set against the backdrop of the pertinent architectural and socio-political histories and oriented towards the relevant theological debates.

Church Architecture

Postwar churches in Italy have received scant scholarly attention. This outline is based mainly on Sandro Benedetti's work, as very few have undertaken any such overview, perhaps because, as Benedetti acknowledges, there is hardly any possibility of summarizing the whole: many churches were built but all within an architectural culture that mostly ignored matters of religious architecture during these years, so that they remain broadly unknown.[1] He suggests at the outset that the difficulty is that, by definition, this is architectural work in which religious import is central, and points to Saverio Muratori (1910-73) and Luigi Moretti as articulating the problem in different terms. Moretti's view, expressed in 1963, centered on a communicative crisis of form and content and will come up naturally in Chapter 5, the case study of his *Chiesa del Concilio*. Muratori, however, writing in 1956, identified the difficulty in terms of prevailing socio-political culture in postwar Italy: the freedom required of art was caught between the dominance of Crocean aesthetics and the subsequent spread of Marxist materialism. His idiosyncratic answer was to build explicit juxtapositions of old and new as instantiations of difficult mediation (e.g. his "baroque" church S. Maria dell'Assunzione, in the Tuscolana area in Rome, 1954, which will be addressed in Chapter 4 in view of Nicolosi's work nearby).[2]

The landscape of postwar Italian church architecture exhibits three main characteristics, however lacking in any overarching trajectory or pattern: 1) there is a new confidence when compared to the relative timidity of architects during the

preceding decades; 2) new churches displayed an extreme formal simplification, especially in the presbytery; 3) an interest in the dynamic spatial quality of the nave found expression longitudinally, vertically, and in striking uses of materials.[3] Despite the confidence and experimentation, the situation in Italy was far behind that in France, Germany, or Switzerland with respect to liturgical reform and innovation. Nevertheless, even in Italy there were signs, for those attentive to them, as with Pius XII's suggestion of coming reform in his encyclical *Mediator dei* (20 November 1947). The leading places for liturgical experimentation and reform within Italy were the dioceses of Milan, Turin, and Bologna. Milan led the way from the 1930s and 40s with the earliest experiments, as in the work of Cesare Cattaneo (1912-43) and Mario Radice (1898-1987), and later Enrico Castiglioni (1914-2000), though nothing there was ever as organized as in Bologna.[4]

More generally, during the 1950s the design of new Italian churches began to evince a kind of regionalism among the strongest architects, developing pre-modern traditions from central Italian regions as a result of working without any common form language, but having similar objectives, and operating in an environment of Neo-realist housing efforts and a widespread insistence upon artistic freedom against previous modes of control. Benedetti includes Peniconi and Pediconi as well as Giuseppe Nicolosi here (Chapters 3 and 4 below, respectively), as exemplars.[5]

Benedetti takes the case of the Diocese of Bologna, under the leadership of Cardinal Giacomo Lecaro (1891-1976), to encapsulate the movement from the

experiments, greatly increased after 1955, to the virtual abandonment of religious import in the "crisis of the sacred" brought on by a turn to a new functionalism.[6] Indeed, through the journal *Chiesa e quartiere* and the founding of the Centro di Studio e Informazione per l'Architettura Sacra in the mid 1950s, the Diocese of Bologna sponsored conferences and spurred a vibrant movement focused upon modern church architecture and its surrounding urban challenges, including work by Le Corbusier and Alvar Aalto. Common characteristics of the work included: efforts to integrate clergy and congregation; centralized plan organizations and interior focus; translation of traditional procession into a wrapping around the central area; and the idea of the church as refuge within the city.[7] By the late 1960s, Lecaro was calling for a completely neutral conception of the church, the better to address the functional problems in the midst of the contemporary city, with no appeal to any "sense of the sacred" or theological importance of the liturgy, let alone any attempt at communicative form.[8]

This movement roughly parallels a broader one that contrasts the new confidence and open, listening attitude of the Church to the world embodied by the Second Vatican Council, with the increasing confusion by the late 1960s over conflicting interpretations of the Council.[9] Benedetti suggests the work of Giovanni Michelucci as emblematic of such a development, evolving as it does from the 1950s through the 1970s into more expressionist forms, which appear more as icons of the

turbulent times than as embodiments of any specific liturgical or theological value (and at times work against such values).[10]

More pointed moments surrounding the Council and the relevant architectural discourse will be important in the individual case study chapters for framing the historical and theoretical challenges facing the architects under study. But, the problem of postwar churches in Rome is rooted also in the challenges brought by the advent of modernity as well as in the broader history of Christian church architecture.

However else they may be defined, most schools of modernism in the early twentieth century grounded proposals for ways of building that would be new but also would reach back past the nineteenth century historicism (or the problematic parts of it) in order to appropriate some source for ongoing viability (e.g., Biedermeier for Adolf Loos, medieval guild structure for the Bauhaus pedagogy). Such a strategy had much in common with the roughly contemporaneous liturgical reform movements that functioned outside the central institutional Church in that they frequently sought to remove outdated accretions and reclaim elements of early Christian, pre-Constantinian practice.[11] Various nineteenth-century polemical debates over style, commonly centered around the contention that, as A. W. N. Pugin (1812-52) would have it, truly Christian architecture is Gothic architecture, had grown out of the renewed attention to meaning implicit in form that developed from the Renaissance and reached its apogee in the Enlightenment.[12] Yet, with the waning

of historicism through the fading of dogmatic, polemical claims into a plurality of neomedieval revivals and then eclecticism, variations on Art Nouveau sought to make a new form language from observation of nature and sheer invention, providing thereby an opening for modernism.[13] Institutionally, the Church had also changed quite dramatically during the nineteenth century: in the early decades, national variations in Catholic practice had become more explicit and pronounced than before, Italy (and Spain and Portugal) had been marked by a distinct turn to tradition, and an increasing resistance to all things "modern" was soon augmented in the latter decades by an unprecedented centralization of power in the papacy at the First Vatican Council (1869-70) and its chief proclamation of Papal Infallibility. Thus, despite the spread of liberal democracy, the Church had become increasingly identified with its institutional center and identity.[14] Then, amidst the various voices arguing for change, the successive Popes exercised their recently solidified authority to dig in, one sign of which was the focus on doctrinal definition and control as evidenced in the issuance of over 180 Papal encyclicals between 1878-1962. This relative prestige was put to question after the Second World War in light of the Holocaust and the sense that Pius XII had failed to respond adequately.[15]

The deeper roots of the problem of church architecture reach back, of course, to the beginnings of Christianity. Such a long view is crucial to understanding the type even in its modern manifestation precisely because it was to this ideal origin that so many reformers consistently appealed.[16] Christian religious architecture

begins in the house church and the *domus ecclesiae* (or "house of the church"), in each case a non-monumental space of typical late Roman domestic character, the former set aside for liturgical use only by usage and the latter by simple interior alterations to accommodate baptism as an initiatory rite and the gathering for the eucharist with some orientation towards a table or altar.[17] With the conversion of Constantine (312 CE) and his subsequent building program, the Roman basilica, characterized by its large enclosed gathering space, ample light, and implicit hierarchy with the tribune (later apse), became the standard building type for Christian worship.[18]

The Imperial sanctioning of the Church spurred the founding of the first monastic communities, the so-called Desert Fathers and Mothers, who removed themselves and forged an alternative, counter-cultural mode of communal life that sought to preserve the faith from worldly influence and developed, over time, distinctly intimate disciplines of prayer and worship.[19] It was in fact this insular, communal prayer that formed the basis of what became, by the 11th century, the mandated common liturgy of the Roman Rite. Meanwhile, liturgical practice and its architectural setting changed through local forms with great variety, yet increased in scale and complexity in the long run.

Along the way, Early Christian art and architecture (through the fifth century) mainly continued late Roman techniques as well as forms, though appropriated them for new purposes and interpretations to express increasingly the triumphant reality and identity of Christianity across the empire.[20] From the mid-500s the Byzantine

empire in the East gave rise to remarkable religious and architectural innovations, including grand dome construction (e.g., Hagia Sophia, 532-37) and a distinctive heightening of interior space through ever more fragmented spatial and structural articulation under multiple domes in typically centralized plan geometries.[21] Accordingly, Eastern liturgical practice developed rather differently than the West, where from the mid-400s the emphasis was on revitalizing earlier Roman forms, which in turn aided the elaboration of processional liturgies making the most of the longitudinal interior of the basilica and its east-end apse. Major new buildings nonetheless drew for inspiration upon the East, such as S. Vitale, Ravenna (527-48), and later, during the Carolingian revival, the Palatine Chapel at Aachen (792-805).

Yet by the 11th century, liturgical practice more or less coalesced into a more homogenous model by the verge of the twelfth-century Renascence in France that gave rise to the revolution in building form and technique that would later be termed Gothic. While the Roman Rite was mandated by the 11th century, Latin had been adopted as the universal liturgical language in the 6th century. The cult of the saints, with the attendant veneration of relics and pilgrimage practices, lent further articulation and hierarchical order to the architectural setting of the late medieval liturgy by way of ambulatories and multiple chapels and altars, all of which were later bathed in the mystical theology of light derived from Pseudo-Dionysus.[22] Of course, the full flourishing of the Gothic churches was as much a result of the political and educational importance of the monasteries, the bourgeoning mercantile classes of

urban centers, and the great technical advances among masonry guilds, as it was any neo-Platonic theology made concrete.

With the Renaissance and Reformation, a return to classicism and the splintering of the Church into denominational variations meant a new attention given to specific architectural forms as they related to liturgical practice and theological identity. Rejecting the additive and analogical notions of beauty at work in the medieval churches, Renaissance architects appealed more exclusively to universal geometries and proportion to manifest divine perfection.[23] Protestant varieties featured clear day-lighting, prominent pulpits, and plan and spatial organizations that emphasized the gathered unity of the congregation (in turn spurring the development of galleries to maximize the proximity of worshippers to the pulpit, as well as innovations specific to denominations, such as Anglican triple-level pulpits and Lutheran pulpit-altars).[24] The Catholic churches of the Counter-Reformation were spurred to an internal reform by the Council of Trent (1545-63), resulting in more open and less compartmentalized interiors with a clear focus upon the altar end, now mostly unimpeded by chancel screens, which had been common previously (e.g., Vignola's Il Gesù, Rome, 1568-75). Later Baroque examples emphasized a narrative, dramatic experience of the church interior through integrated art and sculpture, mystery and transcendence through unseen sources of light and multiple domes and lanterns above a classical envelope that stretched the

conventional logic of the architectural elements toward a new expression (e.g., Bernini's S. Andrea al Quirinale, Rome, 1658-70).[25]

The increasing plurality of approaches to understanding architectural form and its relation to religious meaning developed into a communicative crisis, according to which such forms became less and less able to convey meaning or such meaning was transformed into an aesthetic abstraction. While one expression of Enlightenment religion was the celebration of freedom from institutional religion (most explicitly so in the conversion of Soufflot's still-incomplete abbey church of Ste-Geneviève into the Panthéon in Paris, 1791), another was a newly rationalized conception of space, such as was evident in the church plan (projected but unbuilt) for the Albergo dei Poveri in Naples, by Fernando Fuga (1748-52). It was clearly modeled on the centralized plan organizations then being employed for prison populations; the church had four separate naves (for women, men, girls, and boys) radiating out from a central altar space, from which the clergy could maintain clear visual control.[26] Furthermore, only in the eighteenth century did there develop an explicit historical consciousness and awareness, such that periodization was itself a constituent part of the era (especially regarding the past so as to mark the Enlightenment as the natural culmination of such progress).[27] The beginnings of natural history and art collections, nourished and quantified by related archeological study, brought about an evident increase in knowledge regarding how humans have lived and built (and worshipped) variously throughout history and geography.[28] The

eventual trajectory of this history, therefore, served to undercut the sense of continuity and helped form the multifaceted identity crisis that is the context of the modern church in Rome.

Architectural Modernism and Classicism

The problems of form and its relation to meaning were not limited in post-WWII Rome to ecclesiastical projects but were also indicative of a broader difficulty: what any modern architecture should or could be in the wake of the Fascist experience. This difficulty rested in part upon the underlying myth of Italy, especially as fed throughout the long history of the peninsula by the complicated development of classical form languages and the uses to which they were put, the controversies over which were only exacerbated by Italy's and Rome's relatively late and peculiar modernization.

Upon its designation as the new capital of a then newly-unified nation, Rome's population was 230,000 (1870). By 1900 it had roughly doubled and by 1930 it had reached one million inhabitants.[29] Always chiefly a bureaucratic city with no real industry of its own, this drastic influx of people presented an insuperable challenge. Indeed, the de facto urban policy through the end of the Second World War remained some variation on appropriating and remaking the historic city center so as to serve ruling class objectives better. The city went through four official master plans in its first century as a national capital (1883, 1909, 1931, 1962). Architecturally,

the avant-garde movements of the Italian Art Nouveau and Futurism, and the Rationalists, traditionalists, and moderates during the Fascist years, together produced remarkable work that has nevertheless remained subject to continued dispute and left the basic matter of identity unsolved.

Art Nouveau in Italy took various forms, from Stile Liberty, to the Otto Wagner-inspired work of Raimond D'Oronco (1857-1932) to the more mainstream Giuseppe Sommaruga (1867-1917), and while it produced many treasured works of beauty and invention it was not oriented towards national identity and was, as elsewhere, short-lived.[30] The Futurists, however, were indeed intent upon Italian identity and harnessing the new century's energy amidst technological advances (praising violence and speed) to propel Italy into a newly modern world. Futurist architects and artists of all kinds agitated for intervention in WWI; too many failed to come back, and while some remained with the cause, it was largely absorbed into the broader Fascist movement. The experience of the war caused a new sense of seriousness and gravity for many, out of which architects found a new bearing, typically falling into one of three groups: *accademici*, moderates, or Rationalists. At each end of this spectrum were traditionalist classicists and experimental modernists, and the middle, moderate ground was in practice divided between the *Novecento* (Milan) and the *Scuola Romana* groups.[31]

One result of the gravity of these years was that the modernism of the Rationalists was decidedly sensitive to historic context and sought to express a deep

sense of continuity with the Italian past, despite (and through) palpably new forms and technologies.[32] Furthermore, much of the work of the moderates was arguably modern in a straightforward, unassuming way. Nevertheless, the Fascist regime would appropriate all three for its ends, largely because it was broadly entrenched before the real development of these groups and a decade prior to WWII, having in fact been constitutionally installed despite all the "marching on Rome" rhetoric.[33] The result is that, after the war, virtually every variation on interpreting the architectural past, from the most academic traditionalist to the most minimal modernist, was tainted by the intervening association with the Fascist experience.[34] And as with the larger cultural climate, continuity was a touchstone for an identity crisis that remained unresolved in the postwar years.

The classicism underlying most any variant of modernism in Italy as well as more obvious traditional form languages was itself the result of a long and convoluted history ultimately rooted in Antiquity. But, narrowing the story to the distinctly "Italian" architectural culture from the Renaissance onward reveals a narrative characterized by recurring challenges involving identity and interpretation. At issue throughout is the tradition of classicism in all its variety and even contradiction. While Renaissance architects were working to retrieve something of the knowledge and practice of ancient Roman architects, they were also clearly aiming to do something new with all that they uncovered. For instance, Leon Battista Alberti (1404-72) clearly referenced his treatise, *De re aedeficatoria* (1452), to that of

Vitruvius (80–70 to after c. 15 BCE), *De architectura* (c. 25 BCE), with regard to title, internal organization, and even roughly following the Vitruvian triad of *firmitas*, *utilitas*, and *venustas*. Yet he developed this last theme into the famous endeavor to understand beauty, corrects Vitruvius in many places, inaugurates a professionalization of architectural practice, and in general is clearly intent upon transcending the ancient model.[35]

Renaissance architects developed this new direction towards a distillation of classical forms and traditions into a codified language expressive of humanist ideals, greatly emphasizing and trying to manage architecture's distinct communicative capacity.[36] Not that ancient Roman architecture lacked such capacity, but the Renaissance conception gave to classical forms a greater degree of precision and systematization concerning meaning than is evident in the earlier practice.[37] This is in part a matter of Vitruvius being the only major theoretical guide they had to consult, and he was skeptical, if not reactionary, regarding contemporaneous Roman innovations, and simply predated many of them. But it also suggests a new, and newly conceptual, focus upon how identity may be expressed in architecture.

As Renaissance humanist culture spread throughout Europe, the newly codified language of classicism was quickly put to various and conflicting ends. Prominent among such uses were the Reformation and Counter-Reformation Baroque churches, the former organized towards expressive clarity, rigor, and simplicity, the latter towards drama, narrative, and mystery. Italian classicism also

became something of a cultural export as architects from the peninsula were brought to France, Russia, and elsewhere to consult or to design important buildings, or Italian architecture simply became the standard for native practice.[38] Furthermore, the Baroque period featured an enlargement of scale that amounted to a significant extension of the logic of classicism: massive urban interventions that remade streets (and, ideally, whole cities themselves) according to abstract conceptions of order and clarity were a logical counterpart to the increasing monumentality of individually prominent buildings.[39] And both the Renaissance and Baroque interpretations of the classical tradition can be related to the contrasting political realities behind the practice: regional city states versus absolute monarchies.

During the eighteenth century such developments continued and were augmented by the central role Italy played in Grand Tour education, the birth of archaeology, and the first excavations, collections, and museums.[40] With much of the peninsula increasingly under foreign power, however, local control over these factors became increasingly tenuous. The outright looting of artworks culminating in Napoleon's *Fête de la Liberté* in Paris (1798) was only the most public and audacious expression of the instability accompanying the material heritage of Italians.[41] While many artefacts were famously returned in 1815, and while many Napoleonic urban projects had been enthusiastically received as oriented towards the burgeoning nationalism among Italians,[42] the underlying situation was unmistakable: while Italian classical culture was at the center of the world, at least in the West, Italians

themselves were less and less active participants and leaders in the major endeavors of the day.[43] Furthermore, the language of classicism itself came under increased scrutiny with results that often questioned the reliability of its communicative capacity.

That neo-classicism, the most rigorously defined classicism of the late eighteenth century that lived well into the nineteenth, was equally championed as appropriate to European absolutist regimes as well as to republican America, was a straightforward mark of the instability of classical forms. More provocative and perhaps prophetic in this regard, at least on Manfredo Tafuri's reading, is the art and architectural practice of Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720-78). From the "speculative archeology" of the prints of Rome's ruins,[44] to the uncanny and impossible prison spaces of his *Carceri* prints,[45] to the absurd logic of classical plan organization in his *Pianta di ampio magnifico Collegio* (c. 1750), to the enigmatic altar in his Santa Maria del Priorato (Rome, 1746-66), Tafuri argues that his work is a sustained polemic to express the impending "tragic disenchantment" constitutive of this late stage in the development of a language. The notion was that classicism had run its course and that its communicative bearing had been all but exhausted.[46]

In the decades following Napoleon's demise, new directions were sought amidst the controversy over forms of classicism and their propriety stemming from increasingly scientific archaeological study. An early response was a turn to Romanticism and variety, as in the 1820s picturesque additions to the Villa Borghese

by Luigi Canina (1795-1896)[47] or the eclecticism of Giuseppe Jappelli (1783-1852) at Villa Torlonia, both in Rome. But once the *risorgimento* began to gain momentum by mid-century, a renewed seriousness emerged in assorted attempts to modernize the urban fabric of cities and eventually to forge an architectural form language that could give expression to the long-anticipated national unity. Many churches and cathedrals received new façades or had their piazzas enlarged or regularized, while the emergence of new building types challenged architects to find appropriate expression for their uses. But the primary story here with regard to identity and its architectural expression is the distinct effort to claim specific parts of the classical heritage in order to manage the message. One general result was *cinquecentismo*, an emphasis upon forms associated with the Renaissance and intended in explicit contrast to those that may refer back to ancient Rome, for this latter, in being central to Italian neo-classicism, was now tainted by its association with Napoleon.

Once unification was achieved, several significant buildings were considered major efforts to articulate a truly national, fully Italian, classicism, prominent among which were the Palazzo di Giustizia, by Guglielmo Calderini (1837-1916), begun in 1882 but not completed until 1910, and the so-called Vittoriano, or Monument to Victor Emmanuel II (1884-1911) by Giuseppe Sacconi (1854-1905), both in Rome. Each building displayed a different approach to the problem of national identity. Calderini's Palazzo di Giustizia embodied a matured version of *cinquecentismo*, recalling the Renaissance in its fullness as representative of all of Italy, on the notion

that it had been the center of the most coherent and most widespread identification with the heights of Italian culture. Featuring standard but oversized palazzo plan and façade organization, robust chiaroscuro through the interplay of solids and voids, and tightly controlled and restrained ornament that avoids suggestions of Baroque fluidity, the message was a centralized embodiment of Italian identity as expressed across the country in the strongest idiom, now distilled in this its unified composite form.[48] Sacconi's Vittoriano, on the other hand, presented a carefully modulated form of eclecticism: rather than combine many disparate stylistic elements or motifs, the monument referenced classical antiquity in the siting and overall form (especially the Sanctuary of Fortuna at Palestrina and the Altar of Zeus at Pergamon) and populated this backdrop with specific, direct symbols of the constituent parts of the newly unified country (e.g., altars for significant places or aspects of the *risorgimento*, statues representing the regions and major cities of the nation).[49]

Both buildings were the result of vast, multi-stage competitions, amounting to very public and monumental efforts to give expression to the new political entity of Italy. The long dates from design to completion for both projects indicate the complexity of such monumental works amidst economic and planning difficulties, the distinctive problems of which marked the Roman context as exceptional in a negative sense among major European cities.[50] The political reality behind the difference was simply the fact that Rome was not an imperial capital, as were Vienna, London, Paris, and Brussels. Thus, beyond the matter of exhibiting differing

approaches to the problem of a national architecture, the radical changes in Italy's new capital (since 1870) and the revolutions brewing in the broader architectural culture mean that these monuments would soon become yet additional subjects of controversy over interpretation.

Socio-Political Background

The modern church in Rome is also situated in the midst of a postwar social and political identity crisis that was so often seen in contrast to the Fascist years but is best understood against the longer interplay between the myth of Italy and the concrete history that eventually led to unification.[51] The postwar context for these issues was characterized by multiple, conflicting efforts, resulting in an overall indeterminateness.[52] Furthermore, due perhaps mainly to the recurrent failure to resolve matters of collective identity, there was a postwar decline of any interest in nationalism or patriotism of any kind.[53] The complexity of the debates only increased as the fascist-antifascist dualism gave way to that of communist-anticommunist, especially as the antifascists were very different than the anticommunists in identity and emphasis, and each had varieties and sub-species within.[54] More specifically, the Church that had always resisted and opposed the liberalism of democracy in favor of monarchy, and subsequently had befriended fascism in part so as better to oppose communism, aligned itself with this political liberalism after the war for the first time in history, marked especially by Pope Pius XII's 1944 Christmas Message.

Fascism in Italy was intimately connected to collective identity issues. With World War I raging, interventionists argued that national identity would be forged in the crucible of violent conflict, a formula that soon found resonance in the promotion of Fascism as a nationalist myth wherein revolution and war experience would provide the raw material for the long-desired Italian identity.[55] Indeed, Benito Mussolini (1883-1945), initially a neutralist along with fellow socialists and the majority of Italians, repudiated the socialists in October 1914 in favor of a revolutionary interventionism that would form the basis, in the midst of the postwar crisis of political legitimacy, of the Fascist "third way" between liberalism and socialism.

Such an alternative seemed a welcome resolution to what had been a turbulent history for the young nation. That political unification had occurred through Piedmont-Sardinia, whose ruling classes were as French as they were "Italian" and whose geographical location did not lend itself to representing easily the entirety of the peninsula's cultural heritage, had ensured that the political achievement would soon be subject to controversy over its interpretation, especially as unification had also entailed the end to the temporal powers of the papacy. By and large, the *risorgimento* had been driven by democratic, liberal-humanistic motives, aimed not at imperial expansion but at a cultural and spiritual nationalism that, when infused with individual liberty, would serve to create the national identity that was otherwise lacking.[56] That was the idea. The "unification" of "Italy" brought about by

the capture of Rome by nationalists in September 1870 had in fact stemmed from the intricate interweaving of military conflicts and interests to the north (reaching a head with the Franco-Prussian war, beginning in July of the same year) that caused French troops to abandon Rome. The nationalist army took the city on 20 September. Pope Pius IX refused to recognize the removal of the papacy's temporal powers and declared himself "prisoner of the Vatican."[57]

Unsurprisingly, the resulting conservative constitutional monarchy under Victor Emmanuelle II was ill-equipped to embody any truly unifying ideals. The substantial and increasing differences in modernization and industrialization between the northwest region (in which Piedmont was dominant) and the rest of Italy only heightened the emerging sense of a gap between the state and the nation. Hostility towards the new government spread rapidly, from scattered rebellions in the south, to conservative and liberal opposition in parliament, to the founding of the Italian Socialist Party (PSI) in 1892. In the late 1880s there was a clear shift to the left with the advent of the governments under Prime Ministers Francesco Crispi (1819-1901) and Giovanni Giolitti (1842-1928). But no lasting stability was to be attained: despite certain liberal reforms (such as suffrage)[58] and a brief "economic miracle" after the turn of the century, the continued failure to distribute equally the benefits of modernization, well-developed anti-parliamentarian movements (especially among Socialists and Catholics) and the coming of World War I, all against the background of embarrassments like the colonialist defeat of the 1890s,

brought the controversy over the interpretation of unification to a head over the question of intervention. Was unification an end or a beginning? The great achievement of Italian unification seemed increasingly inchoate and tenuous.

In the aftermath of World War I, the primary intellectual voices in Italy for and against Fascism were Benedetto Croce (1866-1952) and Giovanni Gentile (1875-1944). That each argued from a standpoint of continuing the proper development of the *risorgimento* but towards completely opposite conclusions—Croce for liberalism and resistance, Gentile for Fascism—not only reflected the controversy over interpreting the meaning of unification but also framed the debate that emerged out of the crisis following the end of World War II.[59] The fundamental question was one of *continuity*. Implicitly reaching back over the entirety of "Italian" history and asking whether and to what degree there was a unifying element, Croce's claim was that there was a long-standing liberal tradition that had achieved political unification, so the question then was how to account for the shift, in so short a time span, to the most violent and reactionary fascism.[60] Croce's answer was that the Fascist years constituted a "parenthesis" in the otherwise continuous history of Italy; thus, the postwar responsibility was to pick up from where the *risorgimento* had left off when Fascism derailed the tradition.[61] However, central to this debate was the broad sense that the entire liberal political project, imaginary or real, had utterly failed to engage the Socialists, and so had precluded any substantial revolutionary change.[62] Thus had argued Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937), whose influence was limited

in the immediate postwar years due to his early death and limited publication (and compared to his later renaissance with new editions in the 1960s), but whose concrete shaping of the PCI was marked by an attention to local custom and culture and the need to develop such from the bottom up. The postwar situation required, on this reading, a revolutionary change of direction with a distinct focus upon cultural identity. A renewed focus on unity arose as an issue, then, framed mainly by Idealists following Croce and Marxists following Gramsci.[63]

The sense of some unifying identity among people living in the peninsula now known as Italy, at least in principle or as an unrealized potential rooted in the Renaissance, is a nineteenth century creation, a cultural and intellectual construct, perhaps best exemplified by Jacob Burckhardt's *Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (1860).[64] Even so, what made it appear as plausible and valid as it often did were patterns and commonalities in the geography itself, the classical culture of Antiquity, the religious culture from Gregory the Great on, and the literature and language from Dante on.[65] Surely, a self-awareness of the mythology amidst concrete political realities were evident in the remark commonly attributed to the first Prime Minister, Massimo D'Azeglio (1798-1866), who is said to have observed shortly after the first stage of unification: "We have made Italy. Now we must make Italians."[66] Nevertheless, a brief summary of the mythological history is relevant here as it contains notions of identity that fed into the immediate postwar crisis in many respects.

Renaissance culture along the peninsula contained conflicting tendencies towards collective and individual identities. For instance, the Church provided an unavoidable unifying factor in religious and cultural terms, from common festivals and calendar observances to the pervasive material culture of the faith, yet it also served to divide the peninsula territorially. The physical separation between north and south, with the Papal States in the middle of the peninsula and surrounding Rome, was heightened by the diffuse nature of the prevalent political structure, the city state. Indeed, by way of cities and their citizens being featured as the dominant political actors, Italian city states embodied an extreme case of early modern community resistance, which in turn led to a larger instability that made it open to domination by foreign powers.[67] Appeals to a proposed or imagined collective identity of "Italians" and its promise were frequently dismissed in favor of the actually existing local and regional political entities. And as the culture of the Renaissance began to spread, mainly as a result of the Reformation and the advent of printing technology, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries emerged as a period of relative decline and crisis marked by disunity, the Catholic Counter-reformation, plagues, poor harvests, poverty, urban decline, internal political unrest (especially amidst the Thirty Years' War, 1618-48), and sporadic foreign competition. Finally, understanding "the human" was both a point of emphasis and opportunity as well as a problem and challenge. While the humanists often enough championed the human —individually and collectively—over against the "dark ages" of scholasticism that

subsumed all within the eschatologically ordered and philosophically articulated system, they were not exactly secular.[68] Theologically, this continuous religious identity meant that the Catholic Church could easily insist that, as it was already catholic and therefore universal, providing an older collective identity, actual political unification would be redundant.

Thus, the political and religious characteristics that distinguished the "Italian" experience, especially in contrast to elsewhere on the continent, had the ambivalent effect of furthering aspirations towards some form of unification while impeding in practical matters the concrete manifestation of any political collective entity. The resultant instability continued into the eighteenth century, as reflected in the reformist projects of such Italian speaking Enlightenment philosophers as Cesare Beccaria (prison reform) and Antonio Genovesi (economic reform). Enlightenment thought in the peninsula, or *illuminismo*, was also different than the prototypical French or even English variant in that it retained a greater degree of religious and theological content, even as it levied critiques against the Church. The intellectual elite were dominated by clergy and other members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and so even the most strident critique of the Church often came from within. Despite the political landscape being divided in this period among Lombardy, Venezia, the Papal States, Naples, Sicily, and the duchies, this religious and reformist content of *illuminismo* thought tended to encourage the promotion of an eventual unification.[69]

Yet the piecemeal political reality of a land divided among foreign powers acted to defer any such aims further still. By the end of the century, Napoleon attempted to appropriate wholly the idea of unification as refashioned according to his imperial designs. By abolishing existing forms of political associations, removing the Papal monarchy, and establishing the "Kingdom of Italy" as simply a French client state in 1805, Napoleon invented Italy as a political entity and ironically enabled the real political creation of nation states, a result in tune with his initial aims but eventually contrary to his larger objectives. The broader and actual period of Napoleonic rule over the peninsula, 1796-1815, was in the end a traumatic experience for its inhabitants insofar as it fed nationalism and unification sentiments at the price of political submission. Furthermore, despite widespread support for many of Napoleon's ambitions, many projects were begun but left unfinished or radically reduced, there was little actual economic improvement, and even this was uneven in that it was mostly concentrated in the northwest and thereby exacerbated existing internal divisions.

For the majority of the nineteenth century, the *risorgimento* and its eventual culmination in political unification during the 1860s was arguably the dominant focus throughout. The restoration that followed Napoleon's defeat and exile put the people once again under disparate and now more consistently foreign powers.[70] In *I promessi sposi* (1827), Alessandro Manzoni (1785-1873) gave expression to the frustration of the political situation and further nourished nationalist aspirations by the broad

popularity of the novel, its implicit critique of Austrian rule in the north, and the fact that its language became a gathering point in efforts to transcend regional differences of dialect. Local rebellions in the 1820s and 30s—made for disparate reasons and directed to the various powers—furthered the process towards unification through their very failures by making tangible the need for more unified efforts. The heroes of the *risorgimento* played distinct roles along the way: Giuseppe Mazzini (1805-72) as the charismatic spiritual leader, founder of *Giovane Italia* association (Young Italy, 1831), and by the 1840s the recognized leader of revolutionary nationalism; Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807-82) as the guerrilla military leader and unifier of the poor and outcast, founder of the Italian Legion (1843), and liberator of the south; and Count Camillo Benso di Cavour (1810-61) as the master statesman and political reformer, founder of the newspaper *Il Risorgimento* (1847), and Prime Minister of Piedmont-Sardinia from 1852 and of the newly unified Kingdom of Italy in 1861.

Meaning

Modern churches in Rome were built not only in the midst of architectural and socio-political identity crises but also within a distinct theological context. The theological history and theory regarding the advent of modernity and the relation of art to religion is most pertinent here, especially Hans Urs von Balthasar on the disappearance of aesthetics from theology that parallels the long development of modernity. Von Balthasar begins with a distinction, central to his project, between a

theological aesthetics and an aesthetic theology: the former is aesthetics pursued "at the level and with the methods of theology," while the latter is a decidedly lesser thing, marked by "betraying and selling out theological substance to the current viewpoints of an inner-worldly theory of beauty."[71] Part of the experience of modernity is not merely the waning of theological aesthetics but the growing sense that it is an impossible project, a notion to be addressed in the Conclusion. But in von Balthasar's project, the articulation of a theological aesthetics is explicitly not the entire goal but just the necessary "prelude" for the coming "Theo-drama" and, finally, "Theo-logy."[72]

Balthasar argues that at its root the falling away of aesthetics from theology begins with the distinction between theology and philosophy.[73] The moment when the two become fully separate for the first time in history (as even pre-Christian and non-Christian philosophy had always also been theology, as in the ancient Greek *eros* that was a fundamental drive beyond oneself)[74] is with the rationalism of René Descartes (1596-1650). The entire trajectory of medieval theology, while becoming increasingly systematic and articulated and culminating in the Scholasticism of Thomas Aquinas (1225-74), nevertheless maintained the fundamental unity of theology and philosophy. But with Descartes the fateful shift was to restrict philosophy to the limits of pure reason. Subsequent philosophers would attempt to bridge the widening gap between philosophy and theology in various ways, as in the notion of their congruence with Blaise Pascal (1623-62), or of their harmony with

Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646-1716), though it was the monism of Baruch Spinoza (1632-77) that proved most influential in this regard yet ultimately failed from an "overextended *identity*" that was judged to be tantamount to atheism.[75]

By the middle of the nineteenth century, all attempts to join the two had been abandoned and there emerged a split within the post-Hegelian tradition into a "materialistic left" and a "spiritualistic right" as theology becomes ever more one specialization among others, most detrimentally felt in its reduction (and aspiration) to a science.[76] For von Balthasar, this amounts to the full exclusion of aesthetics in that there remain only two ways forward: Being is fully formalized, but empty, or it is fully spiritualized, but without manifestation. This is the basic opposition between rationalism and mysticism, and the two ultimately converge as two aspects of the single problem: the True and the Good remain, but the Beautiful is nowhere to be found.[77]

Von Balthasar's view of theological aesthetics beginning to wane with the advent of the Renaissance has a certain resonance. Indeed, at this beginning stage of modernity, Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472) is palpably struggling to understand beauty in the most pointed passages he can muster (emphasis mine):

> . . . I am aware of the difficulties encountered in executing a work in such a manner that it marries practical convenience with *dignity and grace*, so that, among other commendable advantages, these parts are imbued with a refined variety, in accordance with the demands of proportion and . . . [concinnitas]: that really is difficult! . . .[78]

> Beauty is that reasoned harmony of all the parts within a body, so that nothing may be added, taken or altered, but for the worse. . . . a *great and holy matter*.[79]
>
> But arising from the composition and connection of . . . [number, outline and position] is a further quality in which *beauty shines full face*: our term for this is concinnitas; which we say is nourished with every *grace and splendor*.[80]

The words emphasized here are ones we no longer know what to do with, and they are found where Alberti reaches the limits of his explanatory powers when it comes to beauty.

With von Balthasar's project of constructing a theological aesthetics, the focus for beauty is mediation because it is the central characteristic of the absolute locus for mediation, theologically speaking: the incarnation, as God's self-revealing. But centered as it is in such a locus, and therefore also on the cross, how to deal with modernity amidst its myths of reason and progress? And how to construe beauty? "There can be no simple recipe for getting this right."[81] Indeed, "the more correctly the analogues are drawn, the more definitively will the distances yawn."[82] The notion here is precisely that, whatever analogies are made between the human and the divine, the result will be an ever greater sense of the gulf between the two. Cataphatic theology must always be kept in check by apophatic theology, else it can degenerate into mere aestheticism, basing its forms of God on the forms of this world. Indeed, a stringent statement of this is von Balthasar's repeated reminder that as divine beauty appears in and through all of creation, it will appear also as that which is considered most hideous to the human being. Such an insistence upon

transcendence and its implications is an important reminder of the limits on any project of articulating a fully theology-laden religious architecture in a modern context.

Von Balthasar's argument for the waning of (and thus the present need for) a theological aesthetics has much in common with Karsten Harries locating the communicative crisis of religious architecture in the Enlightenment's apotheosis of reason and the attendant aesthetic approach to art. On this view, art must be pure and so cannot serve anything, including religion. Thus, architecture is caught between two problematic positions: either it is useful but not beautiful, or it is beautiful but not fully architecture. But, what is a church? By any standard open to the matter of significant form, it must be a complete work of architecture, which is to say that it must be both beautiful and practical—yet precisely this is impossible on the aesthetic view of things.[83] Invoking significant form suggests that ornament is the central phenomenon, as in fact Harries concludes. The way forward seems to be to redefine ornament, following Oleg Grabar, solely by way of its intermediary function. This will enable the problem of form to be opened up to new possibilities for modernity that do not presume a stock of commonly understood forms. This will also require a closer look at the question of how art is related to religion across the possibilities of figuration and abstraction.

Adolf Loos' critique of ornament is a central moment in the formation of modern identity in architecture, its still widespread misconstrual notwithstanding.[84]

Harries considers the nature of Loos's critique in some detail, highlighting two commonly overlooked aspects: the suggestion that ornament is related to religion and the notion that it evokes transcendence. Amidst his economic and cultural arguments against ornament that is no longer viable, Loos acknowledges the value to artisans of hours spent making ornament, calling them "holy hours." And for Harries, under the sway of the aesthetic approach such art would be self-justifying: "Art for art's sake is the ornament of modern life." Yet he glosses the creation of ornament by saying "it attunes its creator to a larger order" and observes that ornament, despite the rhetoric, clearly has some hold on Loos that goes beyond mere nostalgia.[85] He even closes the book with an appeal that, if these churches still somehow exert some claim upon us, surely the aesthetic approach must be unacceptable, however much any coherent community of meaningful form, or notion of beauty as a sign of transcendent beauty, may seem to be forever gone for us.[86]

As Harries observes, Kant identifies ornament as one of the few examples of fully autonomous, and therefore pure, artworks, thereby denying its architectural function of mediation. This is clearly one of the stops along the road to abstract art, for the Enlightenment's philosophical standard of pure autonomy requires that art serve no purpose; thus even figuration is impure insofar as it serves a representational purpose.[87] Indeed, the final sentence of Harries's Introduction sums it up: "The rococo church dies as the aesthetic sphere claims and gains autonomy. A once coherent value system splinters. One of the splinters is modern art."[88]

But if even dead form languages in art or in church architecture may be said to exert some claim upon us, may not modern, abstract art do the same? Perhaps the claim is one without content, but may there at least be some claim to a larger order nonetheless? Some such possibility underlies the recent work of Richard Viladesau in *Theological Aesthetics: God in Imagination, Beauty, and Art*.[89] In it he outlines a thorough context for understanding various ways to conceptualize theological aesthetics and clarifies their historical and theological provenance. He goes on to his larger project, which is to develop a transcendental argument that seeks to show that any human sense experience involves imagination against a horizon of the Absolute, and therefore requires some (at least subconscious) imaginative awareness of God.[90] While this latter project is clearly beyond the scope of this research, Viladesau's thorough treatment of theological aesthetics is helpful for gaining a better grasp on the issue of figuration and abstraction in religious art and architecture in the modern context. His survey of the reception history of Enlightenment aesthetics shows that throughout the twentieth century the dominant theme was one of resistance to such an ideal of disinterested contemplation.[91]

Thus, while the aesthetic approach surely remained as an inevitable background for modernity, the actual creative production of modern art has resulted instead in a multiplicity of positions characterized by hybridity rather than purity. Interestingly, Grabar brackets away the matter of abstract art in his treatment of ornament as an intermediary, partly because it is insufficiently pure and so at odds

with its own claimed modernity, though mainly because his objective is directed towards interpreting art from previous centuries. Indeed, he acknowledges that modern abstract art was associated with spiritual values and that this was distinctly tied to "the questions, anxieties, ideologies, and economies of the twentieth century."[92] As this is exactly the context for the present project, no such bracketing of abstract forms is necessary, however impure or hybridized they may be. In fact, canonical modern architecture is replete with examples of this impurity in the name of rationalist objectivity, such as any number of International Style buildings proclaiming "functionalism" while embodying mainly just the *image of functionalism*.[93] The hyperbolic rhetoric of modern architects notwithstanding, such alleged contradictions may just as readily be considered evidence for an implicit and unacknowledged ornament (of no historically recognizable form) mediating the experience of an architectural hybrid. After all, with historical form languages perceived as too remote to continue wholly, with recent attempts to forge new form languages brutally short-lived, and with the larger bulk of modernization inescapable or even desirable, would not some kind of hybridity be an obvious practice for mainstream modern architects?

Finally, one aspect of modernization that appears to have received explicit attention and presents an important thread throughout the case studies to follow is that of artificial light. Light is certainly that which enables perception of any form, but in the case of religious architecture it inevitably gets called into service to

articulate meanings associated with a transcendent God or divine realm. This continues to be the case with postwar parish churches in Rome, but now with the obvious innovation of electrical lighting. And following von Balthasar, the relation of worldly beauty to divine beauty, this latter being a shining forth of the glory of God, is explicitly provocative and relevant, for all the insistence upon transcendence:

> We must return to the primary contemplation of what is *really* said, really presented to us, really meant. Regardless of how distasteful this may be to some, we must stress that, in the Christian realm, such contemplation exactly corresponds to the aesthetic contemplation that steadily and patiently beholds those forms which either nature or art offers to its view.[94]

This wager that the beauty of God can be discerned in works of art regardless of their form ties in nicely with the aesthetic of Jacques Maritain, first articulated in *Art and Scholasticism*. (1920). This was a clear reaction against the Kantian aesthetic approach that sought to move ahead by reaching back to Scholastic thought in a sort of retrieval. Far from relying on the received formulae of Scholasticism as it had trickled down from the nineteenth century, against which Catholic modernist theologians railed, Maritain went to the sources and retrieved them, so that artistic form and its relation to religious content could be re-conceived. For Maritain, art is an intellectual virtue and therefore is not tied to any specific concrete form. Rather, it is the internal form of the work of art that counts, such that the abstract is in fact the spiritual.

> What is required is not that the representation exactly conform to a given reality, but that through the material elements of the beauty of the work there truly pass, sovereign and whole, the radiance of a form

> . . . and therefore of a truth. . . . Here we have the formal element of imitation in art: the expression or manifestation, in a work suitably proportioned, of some secret principle of intelligibility which shines forth. It is upon this that the joy of imitation bears in art. It is also what gives art its value of universality.[95]

Maritain's is an anti-representational theory of art that nonetheless claims a high view of art's value for religion in a modern world: it provides access to universal truth, it enjoys absolute artistic freedom, and it is simultaneously ever new yet deeply rooted in the central philosophical tradition of the Church.[96]

Maritain's aesthetic philosophy was foundational for many modern artists, Catholic and non-Catholic alike, and was coherent with the historical stance underlying *ressourcement*, employed by the advocates of the *nouvelle théologie*. Furthermore, Maritain played a crucial role in shaping the reforms of the Second Vatican Council as they pertained to the arts. As such, his theory will provide a relevant touchstone for the consideration of architectural ornament in the case studies to follow.

Chapter 1 notes

[1] "Per una geografia della situazione italiana (1945-1995)," in Sandro Benedetti, *L'Architettura delle chiese contemporanee: il caso italiano* (Milan: Jaca Book, 2000), 15-102. Original edition, "L'esperienza religiosa nell'architettura italiana dell'ultimo cinquantennio," in *Profezia di Bellezza. Arte sacra tra memoria e progett*, ed. Mariano Apa (Roma: CISCRA Edizioni, 1996): 205-216.

[2] Ibid., 16-18.

[3] Ibid., 19.

[4] Ibid., 21-23.

[5] Ibid., 29-34.

[6] Ibid., 49-68.

[7] Ibid., 49-56.

[8] Ibid., 57-58.

[9] Ibid., 61-62.

[10] Ibid., 66-68.

[11] For a concise summary of the commonalities and differences between architectural modernism and liturgical reform during the early twentieth century, see Richard Kieckhefer, "Modernism and the Concept of Reform: Liturgy and Liturgical Architecture," in *Sanctioning Modernism: Architecture and the Making of Postwar Identity*, edited by Vladimir Kulić, Timothy Parker, and Monica Penick, forthcoming from University of Texas Press.

[12] See Phoebe B. Stanton, *The Gothic Revival & American Church Architecture: An Episode in Taste 1840-1856* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1968); Christopher Webster and John Elliott, eds. *'A Church as it Should Be': The Cambridge Camden Society and its Influence* (Stamford, England: Shaun Tyas, 2000).

[13] Italian Art Nouveau was also called *Stile Floreale* or *Stile Liberty*, and occurred with local and regional variations, one such was the Design Reform Movement in Rome, a good example of which is the Villino Ximenes by Ernesto Basile (1857-1932). See Irene de Guttry, "The Design Reform Movement in Rome at the Beginning of the

Century," *The Journal of Decorative and Propoganda Arts* 13, Stile Floreale Theme Issue (Summer 1989): 52-75.

[14] See Nicholas Atkin and Frank Tallett, *Priests, Prelates & People*: 128, 195-96.

[15] See Nicholas Atkin and Frank Tallett, *Priests, Prelates & People*: 263-64.

[16] For good overviews, see Allan Doig, *Liturgy and Architecture: From the Early Church to the Middle Ages* (Hampshire, England: Ashgate, 2008); Nigel Yates, *Liturgical Space: Christian Worship and Church Buildings in Western Europe 1500-2000* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2008); Peter G. Cobb, "The Architectural Setting of the Liturgy," in *The Study of Liturgy*, ed. Cheslyn Jones, Geoffrey Wainwright, and Edward Yarnold, SJ (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 473-87. For a survey that includes a succinct treatment of the monastic contribution to the story, see R. Kevin Seasoltz, *A Sense of the Sacred: Theological Foundations of Christian Architecture and Art* (New York: Continuum, 2005). For more than an overview but also including such, see Richard Kieckhefer, *Theology in Stone: Church Architecture from Byzantium to Berkeley* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

[17] See L. Michael White, *Building God's House in the Roman World, vol. 1: Building God's House in the Roman World* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press, 1996).

[18] See Gregory T. Armstrong, "Constantine's Churches: Symbol and Structure," in *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 33, no. 1 (March 1974): 5-16. Key moments in this history from here on out, were it fuller, would of course include the development of Eastern Christianity all along. But the subsequent liturgical and architectural trajectory in the East raises more problems than it illumines for the present project, especially regarding images and figuration. While it is therefore mostly bracketed off at the outset, I would at least suggest that it remains an alternative narrative that may provide fruitful for future research into certain strands of modern religious architecture, insofar as the liturgical reforms of the Western Churches are at times understood to have found their inspiration in the practice of Eastern Christianity.

[19] See Wolfgang Braunfels, *Monasteries of Western Europe: The Architecture of the Orders* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1972) and Walter Horn and Ernest Born, *The Plan of St. Gall* (Berkeley, Calif., University of California Press, 1979).

[20] See Thomas F. Mathews, *The Clash of Gods: A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art*, rev. and exp. ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999) and Jaś Elsner, *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph: The Art of the Roman Empire AD 100-450* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

[21] See Rowland J. Mainstone, *Hagia Sophia: Architecture, Structure and Liturgy of Justinian's Great Church* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1988).

[22] See Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1981); Erwin Panofsky, ed., *Abbot Suger: On the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and its Art Treasures*, 2nd ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979); Otto von Simson, *The Gothic Cathedral: Origins of Gothic Architecture and the Medieval Concept of Order* (New York: Pantheon, 1956).

[23] See Rudolf Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism* (Chichester, England: Academy Editions, 1998 [1949]). Hans Urs von Balthasar argues that these two modes are at root inseparable: *The Glory of the Lord: A Theological Aesthetics, Volume I: Seeing the Form*, translated by Erasmo Leiva-Merikakis and edited by Joseph Fessio, S.J., and John Riches (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1982): 118-19.

One relatively constant factor from this point onward in the institutional history of the Church is the decline of the temporal powers of the papacy as a marker of emerging modernity: beginning with the Renaissance city-states, the question of the relation between church and state is a constant feature, with a mostly steady trajectory towards ever greater autonomy between the two and power reserved for the state. See Nicholas Atkin and Frank Tallett, *Priests, Prelates & People: A History of European Catholicism since 1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

[24] See, among many possible readings, Anthony Garvan, "Protestant Plain Style before 1630," *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 9, no. 3 (October 1950): 5-13; Peter Guillery, "Suburban Models, or Calvinism and Continuity in London's Seventeenth-Century Church Architecture," *Architectural History* 48 (2005): 69-106; Dell Upton, *Holy Things and Profane: Anglican Parish Churches in Colonial Virginia* (New York: The Architectural History Foundation and Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1986). For a good overview, see James F. White, *Protestant Worship and Church Architecture: Theological and Historical Considerations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964). See also individual chapters on specific reformed denominations in Nigel Yates, *Liturgical Space: Christian Worship and Church Buildings in Western Europe 1500-2000* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2008).

[25] But see Giles Knox, "Unified Church Interior in Baroque Italy," *The Art Bulletin* 82, no. 4 (December 2000): 679-701. See also John Varriano, *Italian Baroque and Rococo Architecture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986) and, more recently, Marcello Fagiolo and Paolo Portoghesi, eds., *Roma Barocca: Bernini, Borromini, Pietro da Cortona* (Milan: Electa, 2006).

The revolutionary and Napoleonic periods bridging the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were traumatic for the institutional Church to a degree not seen since the Reformation, but its sheer survival gave it also a level of international

credibility in diplomatic matters and a measure of a respite from struggle for a while. See Nicholas Atkin and Frank Tallett, *Priests, Prelates & People*: 83-84.

[26] See Guglielmo Matthiae, *Ferdinando Fuga e la sua opera romana* (Rome: Fratelli Palombi, 1952).

[27] Yet there was, of course, also active debate over the the relative authority provided by the "ancients and the moderns," which was more active in France yet gave rise to a related debate more pertinent to Italy and especially Rome: Greece versus Rome, with Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–1768) for the former and Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720–1778) for the latter.

[28] See Anthony M. Clark, "The Development of the Collections and Museums of 18th Century Rome" *Art Journal* 26, no. 2. (Winter, 1966-1967): 136-143.

[29] Spiro Kostof, "The Third Rome: The Polemics of Architectural History," *The Journal of the Society of Architectural History* 32, no. 3 (October 1973): 240.

[30] See note 13 above.

[31] See Diane Yvonne Ghirardo, "Italian Architects and Fascist Politics: An Evaluation of the Rationalists's Role in Regime Building" *The Journal of the Society of Architectural History* 39, no. 2 (May 1980): 109-27; Bruno Regni and Marina Sennato, "L'architettura del novecento e la 'scuola Romana'," *Rassegna dell'Istituto di architettura e urbanistica* 40-41 (1978): 37-62. See also Richard A. Etlin, *Modernism in Italian Architecture, 1890-1940* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1991); Dennis P. Doordan, *Building Modern Italy: Italian Architecture, 1914-1936* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1988).

[32] See Giorgio Ciucci, "Italian Architecture during the Fascist Period: Classicism between Neoclassicism and Rationalism: The Many Souls of the Classical," *Harvard Architecture Review* 6 (1987): 76-87; Thomas L. Schumacher, "Terragni and Classicism: Fence Sitting at the Barricades," *Journal of Architectural Education* 41, no. 4 (Summer 1988): 11-19.

[33] Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes: A History of the World, 1914-1991* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1994), 127.

[34] One sign of the controversy over identity in architectural culture is the immediate founding of more than a dozen journals devoted in one way or another to the matter. See Maco Mulazzani, "Le riviste di architettura: Costruire con le parole," in *Storia dell'architettura italiana: il secondo novecento*, ed. Francesco Dal Co (Milan: Electa, 1997): 430-443.

[35] Alberti argues that beauty arises through *concinnitas* (according to the proper disposition of number, outline, and position) and is distinguished from but closely related to ornament. *Concinnitas* is "nourished with every grace and spendor" and, as the "quality in which beauty shines full face," it is "the main object of the art of building, and the source of her dignity, charm, authority, and worth." Leon Battista Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, trans. Joseph Rykwert, Neil Leach and Robert Tavernor (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1988): 302-03. Among the major modern interpreters of Alberti's treatise, see especially Mark Jarzombek, *On Leon Baptista Alberti: His Literary and Aesthetic Theories* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989) and Robert Tavernor, *On Alberti and the Art of Building* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998). On Alberti seeking to transcend Vitruvius, see Richard Krautheimer, "Alberti and Vitruvius," in *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval, and Renaissance Art.*, 323-332 (London: University of London Press, 1971).

[36] For a history of classical orders with respect to their expressive capacity from Antiquity to the Renaissance, see John Onians, *Bearers of Meaning: The Classical Orders in Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988). For a more focused study of such expressive capacity as evident in Renaissance palaces, see Charles Burroughs, *The Italian Renaissance Palace Façade: Structures of Authority, Surfaces of Sense* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

[37] See Mark Wilson Jones, *Principles of Roman Architecture* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000): 109-11.

[38] Prominent examples include Gianlorenzo Bernini in Paris at the Louvre and Francesco Bartolomeo Rastrelli in Russia.

[39] Pope Sixtus V's remaking of Roman streets and piazzas, Gianlorenzo Bernini's piazza for St. Peter's, and Christopher Wren's plan for the rebuilding of London after the 1666 fire are only a few examples.

[40] See Anthony M. Clark, "The Development of the Collections and Museums of 18th Century Rome," *Art Journal* 26, no. 2 (Winter 1966-67): 136-43.

[41] See Patricia Mainardi, "Assuring the Empire of the Future: The 1798 Fête de la Liberté, *Art Journal* 48, no. 2 (Summer 1989): 155-63. For the relative dominance of Naples amidst the excavations of Herculaneum and Pompeii, including the removal of Farnese sculptures from Rome to Naples, see Anthony Blunt, "Naples under the Bourbons, 1734-1805," *The Burlington Magazine* 121, no. 913 (April 1979): 207-08, 211.

[42] An example of this was Giovanni Antonio Antolini's Foro Bonaparte in Milan (1800). See Carroll William Westfall, "Antolini's Foro Bonaparte in Milan," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 32 (1969): 366-85, whose judgments concerning the

reception of the (largely unbuilt) project that had overtones of Ledoux and Bouleé, yet had an Italian "sense of space" and Palladian stylistic references, is emblematic of the ambivalence and instability of the situation: "Even though the Foro was to serve as the political centre for a new government protected by French arms and reordained by a French hero, in the minds of the local patriots it was the symbol of a new Italian republic and of a new italian idealism," 381-84.

[43] One form this took was the debate in the 1760s and 70s over the relative authority of the Greeks vs. the Romans, an eighteenth-century variation of the slightly earlier (and more French) *querelle des Anciens et des Modernes*. The new debate was spurred by the growing awareness of Greek antiquities amidst excavations of Paestum, near Naples, and featured the German scholar Johann Joachim Winckelmann's promotion of neoclassicism (pro Greek) and Giovanni Battista Piranesi's printmaking and architectural design (pro Roman).

Winckelmann's positive characterization of classical Greek art as one of "noble simplicity and calm grandeur" will find resonance, if oddly far-removed from late-eighteenth-century concerns, in the eventual promotion during the Second Vatican Council of "noble simplicity" as a guiding ideal in liturgical design and practice. I will return to this in due time; the original phrase appears in Winckelmann's essay "Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst" (1755), in *Winckelmann's Werke*, ed. C. L. Fernow (Dresden, 1808-35): I, 31-32.

[44] Terry Kirk, *The Architecture of Modern Italy*, vol. 1 (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2005): 49.

[45] See especially Ulya Vogt-Göknil, *Giovanni Battista Piranesi: Carceri* (Zürich, Origo Verlag, 1958).

[46] Manfredo Tafuri, *The Sphere and the Labyrinth: Avant-Gardes and Architecture from Piranesi to the 1970s*, trans. Pellegrino d'Acierno and Robert Connolly (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1987): 49. See also Manfredo Tafuri, "Il complesso di S. Maria del Priorato sull'Aventino: 'furor analiticus'." In Alessandro Bettagno, ed. Piranesi: incisioni - rami - legature - architetture. Vicenza: Neri Pozza Editore, 1978: 78–87

[47] Canina was building on the picturesque tradition already established at the Villa Borghese by the work of Antonio Asprucci (1723-1808) during the 1780s and 90s.

[48] The building's siting, across the Tiber in the vicinity of St. Peter's and on an extremely prominent site, is indicative of a desire to mark the new secular government as having superseded Papal Rome. See Terry Kirk, "Church, State and Architecture, The Palazzo di Giustizia of Nineteenth-Century Rome" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1997); Gianni Accasto, Vanna Fraticelli, and Renato Nicolini, *L'architettura di Roma capitale, 1870-1970* (Rome: Golem, 1971): 86-94.

[49] The site is the Capitoline Hill and the construction required the demolishing of buildings connected to the Church, thus helping further to make explicit the new political landscape. See Gianni Accasto, Vanna Fraticelli, and Renato Nicolini, *L'architettura di Roma*: 72-85.

[50] See Leonardo Benevolo, *Roma da ieri a domani* (Bari: Laterza, 1971), for the description of Rome's compromise between public and private interests as coming late when compared to cities like Vienna, London, and Paris, and so for its being unable to complete such projects as these cities did before the broad economic downturn in the 1880s.

[51] For contemporary historiographic evidence of an identity crisis, found in the overwhelming focus on national history at the expense of all other subjects, see S. J. Woolf, "Research into Contemporary History in Italy." In *Contemporary History in Europe: Problems and Perspectives* (New York: Praeger, 1969): 134-50. A similar historiographic limitation prevailed in the inter-war years as Italians were surrounded by ideological battles not conducive to historical research; see Furio Diaz, "Federico Chabod e la 'nuova storiografia' Italiana dal primo al secondo dopoguerra (1919-50)" *Storia della Storiografia* 4 (1983): 138-44.

[52] See Christopher Duggan and Christopher Wagstaff, eds. *Italy in the Cold War: Politics, Culture, and Society, 1948-58* (Oxford: Berg, 1995).

[53] See Gentile, *The Struggle for Modernity*, 184-85.

[54] See Aurelio Lepre, *L'anticomunismo e l'antifascismo in Italia* (Bologna: il Mulino, 1997); David Ward, *Antifascisms: Cultural Politics in Italy, 1943-46. Benedetto Croce and the Liberals, Carlo Levi and the "Actionists"* (Madison, WI: Fairleigh Dickinson University; London, Associated University Press, 1997); Sandra Pescarolo, "From Gramsci to 'Workerism': Notes on Italian Working-Class History," in *People's History and Socialist Theory*, ed. Raphael Samuel (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981): 273-78.

[55] Gentile, *The Struggle for Modernity*, 7.

[56] Emilio Gentile, *The Struggle for Modernity: Nationalism, Futurism, and Fascism* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003): 4.

[57] See David Kertzer, *Prisoner of the Vatican* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2004).

[58] At unification only 2% of Italians could vote, as qualified on the basis of either property or education. Suffrage reform proceeded first to local elections, to all literate males by 1888, and to all males by 1911. John A. Davis, "Introduction," in *Italy*

in the Nineteenth Century, ed. John A. Davis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000): 18.

[59] See A. William Salomone, "Italy," in *International Handbook of Historical Studies: Contemporary Research and Theory*, ed. Georg G. Iggers and Harold T. Parker (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1979): 233-52. Salomone argues that this postwar crisis amounted to a rejection of the entire tradition of Crocean liberalism, leaving Italians even more estranged from this major strand of their history and identity. For Croce and Gentile regarding Fascism, see Gentile's "Manifesto of Fascist Intellectuals" and Croce's "Reply," both 1925, reprinted in Jeffrey T. Schnapp, ed., *A Primer of Italian Fascism*. (Lincon, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 297-307.

[60] Of course, this is again an intellectual construct created to serve Croce's purposes; Rome's dominance by the monarchy of the papacy makes it especially clear that no such "long-standing liberal tradition" had existed politically, as Croce would have it.

[61] See Norberto Bobbio, *Ideological Profile of Twentieth-Century Italy*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995). On the continuity question generally, see S. J. Woolf, "Risorgimento e fascismo: il sense della continuità nella storiografia italiana,' *Belfagor* 20 (1965): 71-91; Roberto Chiarini, "The Italian Crisis of 1898: Recent Literature," *Politico* 47, no. 1 (1982): 61-96. On Fascist foreign policy as it impinges on the issue of continuity, see Jens Petersen, "La politica estera del fascismo come problema storiografico," *Storia Contemporanea* 3, no. 4 (1972): 661-706. Regarding Mussolini's practice as implicitly supporting Croce's parenthesis thesis, Claudio Fogu distinguishes between treating history as material (Croce) and the making of history (Mussolini): "'To Make History': Garibaldianism and the Formation of a Fascist Historic Imaginary," in *Making and Remaking Italy: The Cultivation of National Identity around the Risorgimento*, ed. Albert Russell Ascoli and Krystyna von Henneberg (Oxford: Berg, 2001): 203-40.

[62] Other parties complicated the picture. The Popular Party (PPI, predominantly Catholics, founded in 1919) regrouped after the war as the Christian Democrats. Catholics claimed to promote the interests of workers and peasants, though Catholic social and cultural influence was typically kept distinct from any political involvement. The Italian Communist Party (PCI) was founded in 1921 with the express intent to combat Fascism. There has emerged some controversy over whether this marked the beginning of the decline of the Socialist cause, insofar as the two parties were in conflict and thus diluted what would otherwise be a more substantial leftist movement.

[63] See Renzo De Felice, "Italian Historiography since the Second World War," In *Altro Polo; A Volume of Italian Studies*, ed. Richard Bosworth and Gianfranco Gresciani (Sydney: University of Sydney, 1979): 161-82.

[64] Another source for the myth of "Italy" and "Italians" was the work of Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803), particularly his ideas concerning communal identity, communicative capacity, and relativism; or, in Isaiah Berlin's terms, Herder's "populism," "expressivism," and "pluralism." See Isaiah Berlin and Henry Hardy, *Three Critics of the Enlightenment: Vico, Hamann, Herder* (London: Pimlico, 2000).

[65] Denis Mack Smith, *Italy: A Modern History* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1959): 1-5.

[66] The first stage of unification was the formation of the Kingdom of Italy, under Victor Emmanuel II (then King of Piedmont-Sardinia since 1849), in 1861; the cities of Venice and Rome were not included in the unified territory: Venice came after the Austro Prussian War (1866) and Rome after the Franco-Prussian War (1871). For an argument that the phrase as commonly cited originates not with D'Azeglio but much more recently, see Simonetta Soldani and Gabriele Turi, *Fare gli italiani: scuola e cultura nell'italia contemporanea* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1993). A recent exploration of post-unification efforts to form a national cultural identity is Suzanne Stewart-Steinberg, *The Pinocchio Effect: On Making Italians, 1860-1920* (Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 2007). D'Azeglio's recorded comments are decidedly less pithy, but can be found in the Preface to his memoirs: *I miei ricordi* (Turin: G. Einaudi, 1971).

[67] See Ann Katherine Isaacs, "States in Tuscany and Veneto, 1200-1500," in *Resistance, Representation, and Community*, ed, Peter Blicke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 293.

[68] See Rudolf Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism* (Chichester, England: Academy Editions, 1998 [1949]) .

[69] Owen Chadwick, "The Italian Enlightenment," in *The Enlightenment in National Context*, ed. Roy Porter (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1981): 90-105. Chadwick also notes that Beccaria was the object in the coining of the term *socialismo*, as employed by Ferdinando Facchinei in *Notes and Observations* (1765). For the broader picture of studies concerning Enlightenment culture, see Paulos Mar Gregorios, *A Light Too Bright: The Enlightenment Today* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1992).

[70] Venice went to Austria and Genoa to Piedmont-Sardinia, which was not yet a fully Italian power.

[71] *The Glory of the Lord*, I, 38.

[72] He makes this point in several places, e.g., in three separate essays collected into *My Work in Retrospect* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1993), 86-87, 96-99, 116-17. Aside from the insistence upon the subordinate position within his larger project of the

aesthetics, it is remarkable that aesthetics takes priority: one must first be clear about the manifestation and appearance of God (*Herrlichkeit)* before one can properly consider human freedom and action in view of divine freedom and action (*Theodramatik*); and only then can one rightly develop coherent discourse about God, which is theology (*Theologik*).

[73] Ibid., I, 70-79.

[74] This insight is at the core of the work of Otto Antonia Graf; see "Instructions from Imhotep? WW—Wagner from Vienna and Wright from Chicago," translated by David Britt, in *Frank Lloyd Wright: Architectural Drawings and Decorative Art: 27 June-30 August, 1985*, edited by Otto Antonia Graf, David A. Hanks, and Jennifer Toher, n.p. (London: Fischer, 1985); *Otto Wagner: Band 3. Die Einheit der Kunst: Weltgeschichte der Grundformen.* (Wien; Köln: Böhlau. 1990).

[75] Ibid., I, 73.

[76] Ibid., I, 74.

[77] Ibid., V, 12-14.

[78] Leon Battista Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, trans. Joseph Rykwert, Neil Leach and Robert Tavernor (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1988), 35.

[79] Ibid., 156.

[80] Ibid., 302.

[81] Hans Urs von Balthasar, *The Glory of the Lord*, I, 65.

[82] Ibid., IV, 34.

[83] *The Bavarian Rococo*, 251.

[84] See Adolf Loos, *Ornament and Crime and Other Essays* (Riverside, CA: Ariadne Press, 1997); Christopher Long, "The Origins and Context of Adolf Loos's "Ornament and Crime," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 68, no. 2 (June 2009): 200-23.

[85] Ibid., 248-49.

[86] Ibid., 255-58.

[87] Ibid., 253-55.

[88] Ibid., 9.

[89] Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

[90] This is not entirely unlike the argument offered by George Steiner in *Real Presences* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989). I will return to Steiner's version in the Conclusion.

[91] Viladesau, *Theological Aesthetics*, 6-11.

[92] *The Mediation of Ornament*, 23-34.

[93] Harries, *The Bavarian Rococo*, 251-52.

[94] *The Glory of the Lord*, I, 32.

[95] Jacques Maritain, *Art and Scholasticism with Other Essays* (n.p.: FQ Classics, 2007), 60.

[96] See Stephen Schloesser, *Jazz Age Catholicism: Mystic Modernism in Postwar Paris, 1919-1933* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 160-62.

Chapter 2

The Last Dome in Rome:

S. Giovanni Bosco (1952-59)

The basilica of S. Giovanni Bosco, by the Roman architect Gaetano Rapisardi (1893-1988), presents a clear case of mediation as critique (Figs. 2.1, 2.2, 2.3). On the matter of mediating between history and modernity, this church is characterized mainly by a critical stance towards the recent past. While certain aspects of the church recall specific referents from the recent Fascist years, the whole design appropriates them towards critical ends by transforming the implications and associations raised by such allusion. On this reading, the basilica embodies a clear critique of recent religious architectural practice, which, in the immediate postwar context and particularly amidst the multi-disciplinary identity crisis centered on the matter of continuity, was a model of practice that was pointed and subtle in its negotiations of meaning. The basilica also makes specific references to precedents of the more distant past that not only heighten the critique but, in view of the whole, amount to an attempt to articulate a way forward and out of the identity crisis. Furthermore, a distinctive form of ornament enables this mediation.

In Rome, the decade and a half following liberation, April 1945, a period fraught with difficulty and change, several struggles over identity permeated the transformation of Italy as it moved through postwar reconstruction and into the "economic miracle" of the later 1950s. Centrist coalitions that emerged out of the vacuum left by the hegemony and subsequent fall of the Fascist regime dominated the period. More specifically, the Lateran Pacts of 1929 not only marked a decisive shift in Vatican policy in the Church's acknowledgment of a rival temporal power but also effectively abolished all political and civic organizations, with the Church alone surviving. Through the transformative experience of the rapidly mobilized Resistance in 1943-45, the defeat of Mussolini, and the June 1946 popular referendum against the monarchy culminating in the constitution of the new republic taking effect in January 1948, Italian society had radically changed. The Christian Democrat party (DC) quickly emerged, out of the Church's mobilization of its diocesan and parish networks, as the largest and most prominent party. The DC effectively shut out the socialists and communists from May 1947 on and dominated political governance in the new Italy until 1978, when it lost ground through the shakeup following the assassination of DC leader Aldo Moro. Whereas the Papacy had traditionally seen in monarchy a natural ally and in democracy a politically threatening sign of modernity, the Church then embraced the centrist republican democracy as the necessary counterpart to the greater threat of communism.[1]

Along the way, the Italian Communist Party (PCI) grew in fits and starts to become the largest communist party in Europe, but was hampered within Italy in part by the ongoing internal disputes over its relation to Moscow. Emblematic of this was the decision in 1956 by PCI leader Palmiro Togliatti (1893-1964) to keep the PCI with the Soviets despite their invasion of Hungary, all against the broader rise of Cold War alignments and the Italian centrist movement towards European integration. Thus, the critical edge the PCI may have provided was blunted for a time, especially as the socialists (PSI) broke with them after 1956, though the rediscovery of Gramsci during the 1960s helped the communists regain an ethical position on the left by appealing to the local community culture that many Catholics would find compelling.[2]

Economically, the 1950s-70s were marked by the consequences of several factors converging around widespread reconstruction efforts during the late 1940s: deliberate integration into Europe, increasing national investment in industry and manufacturing, general continuity among economic and institutional leadership, and selective adoption of American business processes and principles. Accordingly, from 1952 on Italians migrated to the cities and from the south to the north in large numbers, thereby providing the labor for the "economic miracle" and permanently reshaping the demographic character of the peninsula. The portion of the populace working in agriculture decreased from 37.1% in 1951 to 18.9% just two decades later. And in the single decade following 1953 steel production tripled, automobile

manufacturing increased tenfold, oil production quadrupled, and twice as much electricity was made available to the newly industrialized Italy.[3]

Throughout this period of political and economic upheaval, the very concrete challenges of the housing problem dominated the architectural community, while the matter of modern architectural identity vis-a-vis history and tradition preoccupied architectural theorists. Over a dozen journals addressing modern architecture were launched during the immediate postwar years, and older ones that continued were frequently re-conceived accordingly, as when Ernesto Nathan Rogers (1909-1969) assumed the editorship of *Casabella* in Milan in late 1953 and promptly appended the subtitle *continuità* with the first issue of 1954.[4] His inaugural editorial suggested that a still-viable tradition had been interrupted by the war and needed to be taken up anew, with modernism occupying its place in the progression of architectural culture. Rogers elaborated upon this theme in an article the following year that focused upon "pre-existing conditions" and the obligation not to allow modernism to degenerate into a mere "formalistic aestheticism," arguing that it too should develop and be modified, especially in response to architectural and historical context.[5]

Rogers's concerns grew out of the immediate postwar situation, dominated as it was by the pressing housing shortage at the center of reconstruction. From January 1946 to December 1947, Rogers served as editor of *Domus*, also in Milan, at the beginning of which he sought to reframe the discourse with a new subtitle, *Casa dell'uomo* [House of man], and an editorial in his first issue. He painted a poetic

picture of postwar devastation as the physical manifestation of a crisis in the human community and insisted that current building problems be addressed holistically, including practical, moral, and aesthetic aspects. The closing sentence read, "Let us all help each other to find the harmony between human measure and divine proportion."[6] The matter of proportion was indeed central to the problem of building after Fascism, for it had appropriated the full range of architectural means, from academicist historicism to *novecento* stripped classicism to Rationalist modernism, all in the service of a monumentality postwar architects were keen to repudiate.

The chief Roman counterpart to Milan's Rogers was found in Bruno Zevi, who founded in 1945 the the Associazione per l'Architettura Organica (APAO) as well as the corresponding journal *Metron*, in the second issue of which (September) the APAO Constitution was published. Organic architecture would be explicitly non-monumental, for while monumentality was judged a tool of the state, organicism was claimed as intrinsic to democracy. Having spent the war years in the United States, Zevi was surely aware of the recent debate on monumentality taken up there by Louis Kahn (1901-1974), Sigfried Giedion (1888-1968), José Luis Sert (1902-1983), Fernand Léger (1881-1955), and others in 1944.[7]

In contrast to the common theme among contributors that a properly modern monumentality would primarily mean expressing modern identity in modern building materials and construction methods, Kahn insisted upon the organically

emerging and the outright spiritual qualities of monumentality. The tendency for religious architecture to be monumental in some manner might have put this building type at the center of the issue, despite the fact that most of the discourse bypassed churches as such.

The institutional context of the Catholic Church in Rome between 1945 and 1958 was one chiefly characterized by the culmination of decades of reactionary resistance to everything modern, but most especially modern theologies and works of art. A major aspect of this reaction for the arts was the work in France by the Dominican Fr. Marie-Alain Courturier (1897-1954) through the journal *l'Art sacré* and broad collaboration with modern artists, regardless of religion, for the purposes of updating the church and its relation to the arts.[8] The *Nouvelle théologie* group of modernist theologians, including de Chardin, Chenu, Cognar, and de Lubac, came under increased suspicion after the war as a threat to the integral identity of the Church. Formal censure came with Pius XII's encyclical *Humani generis* (12 August 1950), aimed specifically at de Chardin over evolutionary and biological matters but effectively including many others. De Lubac was barred from teaching in 1950; Chenu and Cognar were removed from teaching in 1954. And in 1952 the Pontifical Commission for Sacred Art issued a statement rejecting modern art and architecture for the purposes of the church, though in substance being little more than a recycling of previous canon law and papal pronouncements and stemming largely from the

scandal of Couturier's hiring non-Catholic and non-Christian artists and architects for sacred commissions.[9]

The design and construction of S. Giovanni Bosco took place between 1952 and 1959, with the church consecrated on Saturday, 2 May 1959. In retrospect, when Pius XII died on 9 October 1958, a very long period of institutional reaction against modernity ended. But at the time, what may have come next was hardly predictable. The election on 28 October 1958 of John XXIII, then almost 77 years old, was widely regarded as a stop gap strategy in the midst of the continuing identity crisis sketched above. But after just five months as Pope, on 25 January 1959 John XXIII announced the intention to convene an ecumenical Council. All sorts of speculation circulated immediately, though with sufficient indication already that some substantial change was at least possible. On 1 April 1959 the new Pope wrote a letter of consecration to Renato Ziggiotti, the Rector Major of the Salesian Order, for which S. Giovanni Bosco had been built. And on Sunday, 3 May 1959, the day after the consecration itself, the still-new Pope visited the new basilica (Fig. 2.4).

The initial claim that S. Giovanni Bosco exhibits a mode of mediation as critique neither relies upon nor invokes what is distinctively religious about the building, neither in theological nor liturgical terms. But when approached with a clear focus upon the liturgical experience of the church and upon the theological meanings implicit therein, this reading of the church as a mediation of critique is

enhanced. Such an approach would involve, on the basis of the suggestions set forth in the Introduction, not mere mediation but sacramental mediation, incorporating the theology-laden concepts of the sacred/holy construct, the *domus ecclesiae*/*domus dei* models, and the root metaphor of the church as the Body of Christ.

This requires "seeing liturgically," echoing Aidan Kavanaugh's exposition of the root metaphor, which is not a call for greater attention to liturgical specifics of rite and rubric, but rather a simple reminder of the manner in which liturgy structures human experience of the architecture. It is also, and perhaps especially, a commitment to an analogical method distinctive of the Catholic sacramental tradition, wherein all things on earth are analogues of divine reality.[10] Kavanaugh emphasizes the theological content over any liturgical form, with an eye towards the primary theological mediation on which all mediation is modeled: "This space exists because the ineffable God became effable in space and time by the incarnation."[11] Just as the incarnation transcends its localized manifestation by its eternal significance, the form of a church is particular yet oriented towards universal claims, thereby investing the experience of such space with a particular sort of lasting power. So for Kavanaugh, "seeing liturgically" means, and for the Church has always meant, seeing such art and architecture vertically, in motion, sacramentally, and as permeating the entire built environment.[12] The idea is to maintain the irreducibility of the liturgically oriented architectural experience, which calls for a phenomenological reading.[13]

Briefly put, liturgically oriented phenomenological analysis aims at addressing dynamic movement towards, into, through, and out of the building.

Background

Rapisardi was born in Syracuse, where he attended the Regia Scuola d'Arte from fifteen to nineteen years of age, studying in the Fine Arts curriculum. Upon winning a scholarship a few years later he moved to Florence in 1915 to study at the Accedemia di Belle Arti. He was called into military service but returned to Florence shortly and graduated in 1919, after which he relocated to Rome to work, where he would remain and practice for the bulk of the twentieth century. His architecture is characterized by a bold and stripped classicism providing a severe and abstract monumentality with careful attention to proportion, nourished by his lifelong study of descriptive geometry.[14]

Over his long career, two stages stand out for their intensity and focus, though only one has received much study to date. The 1930s were a period of substantial civic work all across Italy, including many competitions and commissions of major consequence. These included collaborations with Marcello Piacentini (1881-1960), with whom he first worked in 1926, perhaps the most prominent being a faculty building for the new Città universitaria di Roma under Piacentini's general direction and planning.[15] Then, after the halting of work during World War II, Rapisardi returned to practice with a distinctly different focus: he traded a consistent

service to the state for one to the Church, working frequently on ecclesiastical architecture, of which S. Giovanni Bosco is the best known.[16]

The commission for S. Giovanni Bosco had its origins in a donation received by the Salesian order in Rome: they were given a parcel of land (4.2 acres; 17,000 sm) parallel to Via Tuscolana in southeastern Rome and sought to build a large institute to aid their work, which was centered upon serving the youth of the city. With the urban population increasing and the area of the gifted land sitting in the midst of an emerging quarter, a parish church was thus a natural extension of the project. The order wanted the institute to be a resource for the entire community as well as for the moral and spiritual development of the newly arriving—and often indigent—young of the quarter.[17]

The land donation had been made at least prior to 25 March 1951, when Don Fedele Giraudi, the Treasurer General of the Salesian Order, wrote to Mons. Giovanni Costantini, President of the Central Pontifical Commission for Sacred Art in Italy (and later the Director of the journal *Fede e arte* from its beginning in 1953 until mid-1956). In his letter, Giraudi described the scope and the quality of the land donation, as well as the intentions to build, indicating that the Order had already worked out a suitable program for its requirements. He closed with an appeal for Costantini and the Commission for Sacred Art to consider initiating a competition. The appeal clearly met with a warm reception, for Costantini, having received the

latter on 4 April, issued the competition announcement and program brief within six weeks, on 15 May 1951.[18]

The collective witness of the competition brief, jurors' comments, and Rapisardi's description of the design sheds light on the central challenge posed by the project: how to be modern and respect tradition in a critical manner, especially with respect to the issue of monumentality. The competition was national in scope and the first for a religious architectural project after the war. It was therefore a public and prominent endeavor, attracting 102 initial entrants, whose designs were exhibited during March 1952 in the church of SS. Luca e Martina in the Roman Forum. The jury, formed in February by Constantini and including Piacentini, met three separate times in early April to reduce the field by degrees, eventually down to six on 17 April. These six were then asked to submit revised designs by 15 July in light of an Explanatory Note (8 May), the contents of which seems to have come at least in part from concerns raised during the jury's deliberation process.[19]

Among the qualities called for in the original competition brief was the "noble character" that had historically marked religious architecture and constituted one of the "glories of the Church."[20] It also specified spacious transepts, along with the other constituent elements of the church. The jury met on 6 April and made the first reduction of the field, which appears to have concerned mainly the various ways in which entries simply failed to meet the requirements of the program, with the pointed exception that they explicitly kept in the running centralized designs that

otherwise met the requirements, despite the implication in the brief of a preference for a latin cross plan (through reference to transepts). At a second meeting the following day, further eliminations were made on the basis on whether or not the proposed designs adequately expressed the "noble character" being sought. But at the third meeting of the jury, on 17 April, the representatives of the Salesian order staged a passionate intervention, pleading for an architecture that, however noble, provided also a "harmonious beauty," and was therefore comfortable and welcoming as appropriate to the indigent and neglected children whose community it would be dedicated to serve.

The Explanatory Note gave specific commentary that acknowledged the difficulty of articulating nobility in a manner that was nonetheless appropriately welcoming. Acknowledging the contested terrains of postwar modernism and ecclesiastical tradition, the Note insisted that imitations of historical precedents were not desired. But it pointedly raised the question, how to reconcile present needs with the desire of some to forget all preceding sacred architecture. It also emphasized the gritty and mundane nature of the Salesian mission, including the poor and desperate state of the youth they sought to serve, insisting that the church, however noble, grand, and beautiful it should be in aspiring to be a house of God, must nonetheless be welcoming and be the house of God for all.[21]

Of particular importance is that the Note expanded upon the mention in the original competition brief of ample and spacious transepts, which were intended to

be specially occupied by the youth. In fact, Giraudi's initial 1951 letter to Constantini had indicated the Salesians' own architectural intentions, one of which had been the presence of "two lateral doors in the principal nave."[22] While this was absent from the competition brief, the Explanatory Note stated that the transepts "must be very well lit" and "could have a door to the exterior that would normally remain closed."[23]

The jury met again on 29 July 1952 and selected Rapisardi to receive the commission.[24] Rapisardi's winning, second-stage design indeed had a doorway leading outside at the end of each transept (Fig. 2.5), but further directions from the jury and the Salesian superiors indicated several changes, one of which was to eliminate these doors.[25] In Rapisardi's final design (Fig. 2.2), the transept doors were removed but the walls there became otherwise more open, and in the nave, the side altars lining the walls were reduced in scale from those in the original design and grouped so as to flank exterior doorways on the nave's lateral walls. The other major change resulting from the post-competition evaluation concerned the dome: out of a careful concern to achieve the right proportion and relative scale, the decision was made to add a portico to the front of the church, thereby effectively setting back the dome from the front edge, at which it had sat in the competition design. Thus, among several smaller matters, the jurors (and hence the Pontifical Commission on Sacred Art, as Constantini had formed the jury), as well as the Salesians, appear to have been most concerned about the massing and overall presence of the large dome and the

atmosphere of the interior, which included the degree and nature of its communication with the outside.[26]

At the July meeting to decide the commission, the jurors gave pithy and telling descriptions of the projects before pronouncing Rapisardi the winner. Rapisardi's design was praised for being monumental in a manner appropriate to the historical context, for achieving precisely "a sane monumentality."[27] Rapisardi summarizes his own description of the design with the words, "modern in form, Roman in elements."[28] Thus, against the backdrop of evident concern over monumentality in this project as well as more broadly within the architectural community, and in light of the active institutional resistance to modernity at work in the Church, an initial approach concerning the matter of mediation between history and modernity is to ask, What elements are distinctively Roman (and why not Italian?), in what sense are the forms modern, and how does the resultant monumentality constitute a critique of the recent past?

Formal-Typological Analysis

Sited on axis and terminating the central spine of a new urban development in the Tuscolana area of southeast Rome, and fronting the new Salesian institute, the basilica of S. Giovanni Bosco is a carefully modulated composition of cubic masses, symmetrically deployed, comprising mainly a broad, solid block of a base, upon which sit a dominant major drum and dome slightly back from the front, two

rectilinear towers at the back corners, and a minor drum and dome in the middle space between. The church is constructed in reinforced concrete and clad in travertine.

Aside from the stripped classicism evident in the mural base punctuated by simple aediculae, two specific referents to the Roman past are important here. First, the aggregate "city-gate" motif identified by E. Baldwin Smith is present, if subtly rearranged and modified (Figs. 2.1 and 2.6).[29] Dating back to Roman Imperial architecture and incorporating references to conquest and the maintenance of empire, this motif typically comprises several discrete elements: a monumental archway supporting an arcade, often with sculpture ranged above, and the entirety flanked by towers. In S. Giovanni Bosco, all the constituent elements are present but are shifted slightly. The long tradition of Roman triumphal arches is clearly evoked by the tripartite central entrance with its larger central portal, as well as by the line of pilaster strips. The raised arcade and the sculpture are combined and just suggested on the church's façade by the line of raised niches and the statues that continue across. Finally, the towers are present from the front only implicitly, as suggested through the compositional logic of the whole and only insofar as one imagines towers on the front corners of the supporting block as corresponding to those actually present at the rear and as thereby completing the whole.[30] This lack of towers at the front, however, while weakening the reference to the city-gate motif,

allows the façade to echo more closely the second, more recent, and more venturesome referent.

S. Giovanni Bosco unmistakably alludes to one of the buildings most unambiguously associated with Fascism and its attempt to appropriate Catholicism: SS. Pietro e Paolo (1938-50), by Arnaldo Foschini (1884-1968).[31] This church was designed as a jewel in the would-be showcase of Fascist virtue, the 1942 World's Fair, planned to become Mussolini's New Rome to the south of the city. Completion was long delayed with the progression of the war and the planned exhibition never occurred; the entire area became the Esposizione Universale Roma (EUR) and was viewed with great ambivalence by the postwar population.[32] S. Giovanni Bosco's axial siting along the vista that parallels Via Tuscolana (just northeast of the EUR), its bold and simple geometrical massing, and its elongated monumental major dome emphatically call to mind SS. Pietro e Paolo and its setting (Fig. 2.7). Yet, placed against these similarities, the differences are invested with heightened import and constitute a careful critique.

The formal language of SS. Pietro e Paolo is typical of Fascist-era modernized classicism, but the absence of arches amid the emphatically trabeated forms of the envelope particularly recalls the famous and public debate between Marcello Piacentini and Ugo Ojetti in 1933, which centered on Roman identity in the context of both Fascism and modernity.[33] Rapisardi's collaboration with Piacentini on the University of Rome, the designs for which occasioned Ojetti's letter that sparked the

debate, make it highly likely he would have been familiar with the controversy.[34] Central to the argument, carried on through openly published letters, was the role of form and principle in defining and articulating the classical tradition in architecture, and by extension, Roman and Italian identity. While Piacentini dismissed Ojetti's lament at the missing arches as reliance upon a kind of label (as in "Made in Italy") and appealed to symmetry, careful proportion, and grand scale as inherently classical and Roman principles, Ojetti countered that these latter were mere vague generalizations and described any good work of architecture.[35] For Ojetti, form in all its distinctness—and this includes ornament—was indispensable for articulating collective identity through architecture.

Part of such distinctness could in fact allow for significant nuance among forms of classicism, as, for instance, the Renaissance dome is more closely associated with humanist values and the civic virtues of the city state, while the Baroque dome ties in more readily with the monumentality of absolute monarchy, given their respective provenance. Yet both are also associated with somewhat rival conceptions of art's relation to religion: the Renaissance dome displays eternal truth as an intellectual virtue through the clarity and purity of its geometry and proportion, while a Baroque dome evokes divine reality primarily through drama, narrative, and mystery. On this view, the Renaissance dome may be seen to suggest an application of Maritain's anti-representational theory of art insofar as art for him is an intellectual virtue and thus divine reality in its eternity is best evoked through more

abstract means, not precisely tied to form itself, notwithstanding Maritain's own consistent derogation of the Renaissance in service of retrieving scholasticism for the modern world.[36]

The simple reclamation of the façade arch against such an obvious precedent as Foschini's church, for an architect with Rapisardi's background, gives to S. Giovanni Bosco a loosely historicist or reactionary bearing, at least at first glance.[37] Indeed, in addition to the "city-gate" allusion, the specific profile and proportion of the church's major drum and dome surely also bring to mind the Baptistery of Pisa and the mortuary precedents of which it is a late Gothic exemplar and synthesis.

Yet S. Giovanni Bosco is modern in distinct and critical ways. While SS. Pietro e Paolo's exterior continues inward in equally stark and orotund monumentality, the experience of entering Rapisardi's church is one of immediate contrast: the interior is awash with color and light (Figs. 2.8 and 2.9). Virtually every surface is wrapped with book-matched polychrome marble revetment (Fig. 2.10). Not that color and light are distinctively modern, nor is the contrast as straightforward as traditional versus modern, for Foschini's church was surely modern in its manner and Rapsardi's is arguably traditional in certain respects. It is the nature of the hybridity that is at issue. This is evident chiefly through attention to materials, the spatial consequences of how materials are used, and the role played throughout by light.

Drawings extant in the EUR archives show that book-matched marble revetment was indicated for SS. Pietro e Paolo as well, for the chapel walls and for

panels in large exterior aediculae (Figs 2.11 and 2.12).[38] But both uses were traditional with respect to the autonomy of the ornament. That is, kept within panel frames or simply covering the discrete wall surface, the marble ornament would remain subordinate to some larger architectural unit (read as structure, or at least as frame). Rapisardi covers walls as well, but also wraps enormous piers in the material so thoroughly that the ornament takes over, as it were, dissolving the structural element it wraps. The overt expression of thinness inherent to book-matching communicates that the material is indeed ornament and not structure, all the more proclaiming its autonomy (as in Mies van der Rohe's marble-covered walls in the Barcelona Pavilion of 1929),[39] yet nonetheless mediating the experience of the whole.

Spatially, the two churches couldn't be more different. Circular in plan with eight radiating minor spaces (the entrance plus seven chapels), SS. Pietro e Paolo is based on the long tradition of baptisteries and centralized churches (Fig. 2.13). With regard to typological precedent, the plan of S. Giovanni Bosco is a synthesis of the basilican and centralized church types: the longitudinal direction is evident but arrested by the spatial merging of side aisles and chapels into the unified space of the nave under the enormous major drum and dome (Fig. 2.2). And in these years of institutional reaction that would come to be repudiated in many respects through the reform of the Second Vatican Council (1962-65), the doubling of the domes is significant. Formal hierarchies that were seen to enforce rigid separation between clergy and people would be diminished soon in the name of active participation in

the liturgy by all.[40] In S. Giovanni Bosco, the altar is marked off not so much by any gesture of distinction as by its own drum and dome, analogous to but rather smaller than that above the nave. The unity implied by this strategy is emphasized by the only major monochrome plane in the church: the thin horizontal slice of a ceiling that spreads over the entire interior, broken only by punched holes above which both domes seem to float effortlessly (Fig. 2.14).

Finally, the use of artificial light as a sign of modernity is surely common to Fascist and postwar, newly critical modern architecture. Yet the use in the interior of SS. Pietro e Paolo appears to be more ordered and directed towards controlling the environment as a whole, whereas more is given over to natural lighting in S. Giovanni Bosco (compare Figs. 2.8 and 2.14). The more emphatically ornamental role played by electrical light in the latter church, however, takes the material of the light bulb itself and deploys it for specific effect, as in the transepts that are both lit and adorned by the rows of exposed bulbs at the end of the cantilevered organ support (Fig. 2.15; seen in the background with bulbs unlit in Fig. 2.14).

Considered formally and typologically, Rapisardi's church exhibits a mode of mediation characterized by careful critique amidst the available models of classicism, modernism, and of ecclesiastical architecture. It was a fairly subtle architectural balancing act of affirming the more remote Roman and Italian past while alluding to yet critiquing a problematic recent past, all in the service of a positive modern identity. It also represents a major effort to re-conceive monumentality, doing so in a

building type and setting for which this was especially problematic, for the monumentality of the EUR, SS. Pietro e Paolo included, had attempted nothing less than a "syncretic symbolism" conflating Fascism and Catholicism.[41] Regarding form, the use of book-matched marble revetment, the careful placement of monochrome marble, and the distinct arrays of light bulbs in the transept arms, all suggest that the form of ornament at work here is found most precisely in the use of materials. Thus, the mode of mediation as critique is enabled by a material form of ornament.

Much of this reading hinges, however, on actually going inside. Indeed, the popular reception of the church was perhaps so intimately caught up in the overwhelming speculative development along the periphery, about which Italians were deeply ambivalent, that it remained somewhat in the shadow of postwar estrangement.[42] Provocative in this regard is its presence in two significant films of the period. In Pier Paolo Pasolini's "Mamma Roma," 1962, the protagonist gazes out at the new Rome in unmistakable despair, the profile of the church's dome visible but virtually swallowed by the surrounding speculative housing and retail development (Fig. 2.16). Pasolini captures a sense of squalor, decadence, and especially alienation, in many films through scenes set amidst such postwar construction around the periphery. Fed as this was by capitalist speculation, Pasolini's ardent communist critique is clear. And in Federico Fellini's "Le notti di Cabiria," 1957, a crucial scene finds Cabiria emotionally protesting to her suitor (later shown to be insincere), referring to his proposal of marriage after barely having met her, that this is not how

it is supposed to be, that something has gone terribly wrong. The immediate backdrop to the scene is the new church and the associated speculative buildings, all substantially built but displaying no signs of life. It is as if she were protesting that this entire environment is surely not how it should be.

But the critical power of this church is appreciated only when entered, experienced, and digested. Indeed, the attention naturally given here to entering the church and experiencing it suggests the necessity of an entirely different sort of interpretation in order to get at the theological aspects of mediation as critique.

Phenomenological-Theological Analysis

Upon first catching sight of and moving towards the basilica of S. Giovanni Bosco, one sees immediately that it is a marker of a particular place in the landscape of the city (Figs. 2.17 and 2.18). The form of the major dome is the predominant aspect at first sight, especially from a distance, and its vertical diminishment in stages (from drum to partially sunken dome to lantern) reinforces the sense that a singular, specific spot is here being called out. Despite being situated at the end of a major axis within the urban development of the region, there is no obvious front or direction to the prevailing form of the dome, especially as the towers (in the rear) only barely rise as high as the drum. In this manner, as a matter of orientation, the basilica calls to itself from all directions equally.

One sees the basilica all the more readily from afar, as the space is kept open surrounding the basilica by virtue of the piazza at its front and the lower subsidiary buildings completing the block behind that houses the Salesian institute. When approaching through the piazza, one is surrounded by solid edges of the buildings that line the piazza and frame the basilica, yet S. Giovanni Bosco does not contain the open edge of the piazza as much as it sits within the opening at that southeastern edge. It thus orders the open space of the piazza mainly through the singularity of its form and its role as a focal point, giving the space in front a somewhat undefined and permeable quality.

Approaching the church more closely, the block at the dome's base predominates and becomes the palpable boundary for the precinct that had been just marked by the dome, filling one's vision as one moves towards the entry (Fig. 2.19). But first, one steps up onto a semicircular platform directly in front of the church, the initial gesture of open access to all directions being reiterated here in miniature. Having been seen mainly as a simple base for the dome from further away, the building façade now presents an ordered composition, rather subtly and slightly suggested.

The eye rests first upon the punched openings that form the entries and the aediculae holding statues, as their shadowed interiors contrast strongly with the pale yellow-grey of the travertine. And then, the alignment of the statues and their supporting plinths along the lower middle portion of the face hint at a lower zone of

greater solidity, a base to the base, as it were, though this is otherwise unarticulated. The statues range evenly across the face, despite varying enclosures, and are in turn framed by barely perceptible pilasters that rise unimpeded from the floor to the top horizontal course of travertine cladding.[43] A row of vertically arrayed cladding, flush with the wall below, just implies a "top" to the façade. As one passes through the openings, both the thickness of the enclosure and the thinness of the travertine cladding are unmistakable, as if to emphasize both the momentous transition as well as the precision with which it is negotiated. Hardly apparent from the outside, one enters directly into a tall, shallow, and austere *pronaos*, serving as an intermediary zone between the exterior and the interior and lit by arched openings at both ends (Fig. 2.20). The entry into the church interior is then guarded by massive bronze doors in line with the entries in the façade and featuring cast figurative ornament including symbols of the four Evangelists and scenes from the life of Don Bosco.[44]

In sum, the experience of approaching the basilica to enter is one informed throughout by signals of demarcation and intention, the implicit message being that it is a place of great value and gravity, not to be entered lightly or casually. Insofar as this already suggests something of a *domus dei* model at work, it is consonant with the jury's high view of sacred architecture, as in their use of the terms *pronao* and *tempio* in the further commentary delivered to Rapisardi upon his winning the commission, in addition to the earlier portion of the Explanatory Note (for the second stage) that called for the church to be "the house of God" for everyone.[45] It is all the more

remarkable, then, that upon entering the church proper the viewer is met with quite a surprise: one has an immediate and palpable sense of entering a wholly different environment and world, of being *elsewhere*, not merely set apart but in a place qualitatively different than whatever may have been indicated or presaged from the exterior (Fig. 2.21).

The first impressions are of the overwhelming abundance of light and color, especially as the transition is heightened by virtue of passing through the relatively dark and restricted *pronaos*. Yet soon an awareness sets in of the ordering at work here: perhaps the first distinction is that between the lower zone of unarticulated piers and the upper zone of the two domes. This is felt in part through color, as reds and yellows predominate below, while blues and greens are mainly above. As one takes it in, the rich gathering of materials, colors, and textures, one's eye keeps returning to the only monochrome surface: the thin dividing plane of the ceiling. The contrast with everything else is unavoidable, but it is also subtle, and the plane itself is not pinned down or circumscribed by an overall definite form, seeming to extend rather indefinitely. Yet it opens precisely, as if it were stretched taut to reveal two perfect circles, through which the space below rises into and fills the spaces of the domes above.

Even amidst the multiplicity of visual content, there is a clear directionality towards the altar end indicated, not so much through pier distribution or spatial proportion as through the aligned double circles, drums, and domes. This is

enhanced by the correspondence in form language between the mosaics that sit just above the ceiling plane at the base of the major drum (depicting the dream of Don Bosco) and those of the minor drum beyond (with the *agnus dei* at center).[46] Indeed, this attenuated abstract form language appears nowhere else in the building. Nevertheless, despite the draw towards the altar, the strongest tendency is to look up (Fig. 2.22).

When one does look up, perhaps the most striking thing is that the underside of the dome is utterly blank, without ornament or color whatsoever. Similarly, the occulus under the lantern and the range of windows just at the spring of the dome are clear glass, in contrast to the stained glass elsewhere throughout the church and immediately below.[47] This results in a curious flattening of the domed space, in opposition to the much more common attempt to accentuate the soaring heights of such spaces by adjusting the scale of ornament to diminish towards the top or by otherwise emphasizing the vertical dimension.

Thus, the eye naturally is brought back to the level of the drum, which is therefore read as a somewhat more humane sort of space, yet on another register than the space below. The windows here depict traditional Biblical narratives and themes.[48] In fact, the monochrome dome appears to be analogous to the monochrome thin plane of the ceiling below; as such it may serve as a marker that negates rather than suggests notions of transcendence along the vertical, and perhaps transfers such ideas outwards along the horizontal. Regardless, the view into the

dome presents a provocative intermingling of visual elements, including various levels of abstraction and figuration among the mosaics and the stained glass windows, but also a more fundamental perceptual intermingling, as in the reflections in the marble surfaces everywhere (Fig. 2.23).

Indeed, one cannot help but dwell a bit on these reflections, meditate even, enjoying their dynamism as they proliferate and diminish, ever shifting as one moves around the space. They present an intriguing interplay of surface and depth, clarity and vagueness, form and its dissolution. In even the smallest of views, all manner of form is present: abstract, figurative, and variations in-between; mosaic, glass, sculpture, polished marble; even within the marble one wanders in search of recognizable form (is that a face and an arm, doubled?). The sheer material richness of the environment threatens to overwhelm, yet the monochrome thin plane of the ceiling is ever present, holding it all together, not quite rationalizing the formal fecundity but holding it just enough in check that it coheres into a vibrant fullness of material form.

When one turns, then, to the altar, additional formal markers only now emerge in their proper role (Fig. 2.24). Foremost among these are the white marble forms of the altar top and other liturgical furnishings. Originally, only the top of the altar was white; the other furnishings have been added more recently but are clearly intended to be in keeping with the notion that white marble signals liturgical focus. This fits well with the original design, in that all side chapels are polychrome marble

with the single exception of the altar top: in each case this single slab is white marble, thus tying each side altar to the central one in visual and material terms. A parallel ordering device is the dark bronze of the sculptural liturgical objects (candleholders, crucifix, large sculpture directly behind altar), the color and material of which are likewise disseminated throughout the basilica by its appearance in the form of the fourteen panels of the stations of the cross.

In the drum above the altar, the mosaics depict an array of liturgical and ecclesiastical symbols, such as the *agnus dei* and doves of peace, and the stained glass above this highlights pastoral scenes of forgiveness and ministry.[49] Thus, the content of the figurative ornament above the altar end of the church is related to the expressly ecclesiastical themes, befitting that area as specially governed by the institutional church and its clergy, whereas the themes depicted in the major drum relate more to the corporate identity of the congregation. But the same blank, monochrome dome is present here, repeating the flattening, sideways gesture in lieu of emphatic upward transcendence.

When one turns to the side in the center of the nave, one finds echoes of the deep-cut arches of the exterior envelope, now in the lateral stained glass windows, whose brightness amidst the shadowed underside of the ceiling recall the inverse situation of the exterior as the punched openings recede into shadow (Fig. 2.25). These windows-as-portals suggest, though they do not actually enable, physical access to the outside, which would heighten the suggestion made earlier regarding

the basilica as drawing from all directions. This is especially so as they sit at the ends of a broad cross aisle. Rapisardi initially intended that these were indeed to be additional entries to the church, and this intention may have been a transposition from the Salesians' original program statement that called for such entries into the transepts. Nevertheless, the governing body of the competition, the Pontifical Commission for Sacred Art, decided against them in their follow up instructions to the winning architect.[50] Still, the internal disposition of the windows centered on the major dome, plus the dominance in the space of the ceiling opening itself, presents an overall gesture of unity at least as strongly as that of any hierarchy, despite the doubling of domes and other measures distinguishing the altar end of the church as especially important. In fact, the aggregate spatial experience is one in which the primary hierarchy is not between zones within the space beneath the ceiling, but rather between the unified lower space and the dual domed spaces above. In theological terms, it is a space of synthesis between transcendence and immanence. It is a sacred space that also evokes the holy. It is less a *domus dei* than a *domus ecclesiae* with distinct markers of an appropriately "sane" hierarchy.

As one proceeds to exit, the rear wall of the church sits just outside of the perimeter of the major drum and dome and so is similarly subordinated to the light and space emanating therefrom (Fig. 2.26). Yet within the wall, arched windows of clear glass stand out slightly, party in their lack of color but more so by their framing the backs of the sculptures that occupy the *pronaos* on the other side. There is a

presentiment of the world beyond in its relative severity and otherness, but also in its transparent mundaneness. It is a direct and frank announcement of entering back into the world, as if the building sends one off in parallel to the words of dismissal spoken by the priest. And when one exits through the *pronaos* and arrives at the plinth above the steps, one emerges not onto any vista of the city below but directly into the actuality of the city and urban life, in the midst of which the basilica takes its place (Fig. 2.27).

Comparanda

Among over two hundred churches built after the Second World War, only two had domes and S. Giovanni Bosco proved to be the last.[51] In such a recognizable manner it represents an approach to the problem of modern religious architecture that was in many respects largely not taken up by later architects. This is all the more remarkable given the culturally constructed significance accorded to the dome form in Italy and especially in Rome, as it cannot help but suggest an ecclesiastical identity in ways that are hardly workable in other cultural contexts (e.g. in the United States, where "dome" tends rather to connote "civic authority"). Fully to account for the utter abandonment of the dome form for modern churches in Rome is beyond the scope of this research, but the reason may stem in part from the difficulty of managing the message with such a form against both a long history and a controversial recent past.

Insofar as general models of domes may tend to suggest different forms of classicism, domes of simpler geometries and with clear sources of light may tend to suggest a Renaissance identity. By contrast, layered, complicated domes with obscured sources of indirect light may tend to connote the Baroque. Along such admittedly very general lines of association, Rapisardi's dome appears to map more onto the Renaissance model. This would appear to suggest his dome is more Florentine than Roman, despite his claim that the design is "Roman in elements." However, it may also fit better with Maritain's claim that art is an intellectual virtue, allowing the spiritual and divine truth to be better expressed in more abstract forms. As such, Rapisardi's dome would simply be more oriented towards being "modern in forms" than any specifically Roman identity. Furthermore, the exterior of the dome is less specific in this regard, the drum-dome-lantern ensemble pointing as much to Baroque Rome as the profile suggests medieval Pisa, and it is as an exterior object that the dome most clearly reads as an element.

Not only is S. Giovanni Bosco the last domed church in Rome, but such an implicit critique of a difficult recent past perhaps proved too subtle, too prone to relegation to a weak historicist nostalgia or to an overstatement of modern identity, for this approach appears rare. It may be that mediation as critique is at work less obviously in some churches and so has not been identified as such. Only one other church from this period in Rome seems overtly to be directed towards critique of the recent past and displays a similar logic, though oriented towards different challenges

and with rather different results. S. Maria della Visitazione (1971), by Saverio Busiri Vici (b. 1927), appears initially as a dramatic essay in reinforced concrete invention, based in no way on any model of ecclesiastical architecture (Figs. 2.28 and 2.29). It may surely be that, but it is also a critique of the neo-Realist reliance upon vernacular forms through an emphatic appropriation of the pervasive expression of concrete frame slabs in so much of the postwar housing stock in Rome.

Neo-Realism appeared to hold great promise for the postwar housing challenges because it provided a way to bring an appropriately human scale, sensitivity to detail, and vernacular tradition to what could otherwise easily be repetitive and alienating housing blocks. The first of the large projects to be built under the auspices of the Nazionale per le Assicurazioni (INA-Casa) was that in the Tiburtino quarter, with the design led by Ludovico Quaroni and Mario Ridolfi, in 1950-54. The blocks are notable for having pitched roofs, asymmetrical massing and subtle, meandering plan organizations resulting in small-scale common outdoor spaces and and overall environment with the appearance of almost having developed organically.[52] The scale of the INA-Casa projects, however, also may have helped to spur less sensitive speculative building, with the result that many projects were simply standardized concrete frames, typically left exposed, and in-filled with brick. Against this history, Busiri-Vici's church appears to have taken hold of an altogether different and new "vernacular," adopting the horizontal layering of the then-dominant concrete frame into a skeletal structure for a modern church. Whether it

makes for a compelling experience liturgically and with regard to theological identity is another matter, to be taken up in a different place.[53]

Conclusion

If on the formal-typological interpretation offered above S. Giovanni Bosco presents a subtle but powerful critique of Fascist-era ecclesiastical classicism by investing the interior with a modern use of material as ornament and a synthesis of centralized and longitudinal plan organizations, then it does so on the basis of the mediating role of the ornament, particularly the polychrome, book-matched marble revetment but also the simple material choices and their deployment. That is, the material form of ornament mediates between not only the viewer and the aggregate whole of the interior, it also mediates between history and modernity by appropriating old materials and putting them to newly critical uses. But it also takes up emphatically new materials, such as electric light bulbs, and puts them in the same critical context. Thus, S. Giovanni Bosco is inevitably a hybrid of tradition and modernity seeking to negotiate beyond the Fascist identity (itself thoroughly hybridized) and construct a modern monumentality appropriate to its purpose, time, and place.

Similarly, the phenomenological-theological analysis demonstrated that while the exterior mass of the building presents the *domus dei* model of the church rather clearly and leads one to expect a hermetic interior that is wholly sacred space, the

visceral impact of the interior richness of color, light, and material form mitigates somewhat against this and suggests rather a humane, unified interior that synthesizes gestures of transcendence and immanence. On this reading, such a synthesis fits well with Kavanaugh's root metaphor of the church as the Body of Christ, as the experience of the form and space of the church (vertically and in motion) is also an experience of spiritual content set in relation to the world (sacramental and permeating the whole built environment).

The final theology-laden question then, following von Balthasar, is how S. Giovanni Bosco mediates, through the mode of critique and the material form of ornament, the liturgical experience of beauty as the glory of God? The full answer to this question is found only in the community who makes this particular church its liturgical home. Yet, coherent with the mission and identity of the Salesians and anticipating reform themes of the subsequent decade, but derived herein from the phenomenological-theological analysis, S. Giovanni Bosco distinctly enables an experience of the Church as the Risen Body of Christ that is directed to love and serve the world in its concrete mundaneness. The experience is thus also of a living God who acts in history and is never merely transcendent but always already immanent in and through the world, perhaps even with a preferential option for the poor and disenfranchised in its midst.[54]

Chapter 2 Notes

[1] Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes: A History of the World, 1914-1991* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1994), 114-15, 165; Gianfranco Pasquino, "Political Development," in *Italy since 1945*, edited by Patrick McCarthy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 69-94.

[2] Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes*, 238-39; Gianfranco Pasquino, "Political Development," 70 ff. See also, for an extended discussion during the the 1970s of the alternatives to the Soviet model of communism especially as stemming from Gramsci's work, Eric Hobsbawm and Giorgio Napolitano, *The Italian Road to Socialism: An Interview by Eric Hobsbawm with Georgio Napolitano of the Italian Communist Party*, trans. John Cammett and Victoria DeGrazia (Westport, CN: Lawrence Hill & Company, 1977).

[3] Vera Zamagni, "Evolution of the Economy," in *Italy since 1945*, edited by Patrick McCarthy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 42-68.

[4] On postwar Italian journals, see the very good overview by Marco Mulazzani, "Le riviste di architettura: Costruire con le parole," in *Storia dell'architettura italiana: il secondo novecento*, edited by Francesco Dal Co (Milan: Electa, 1997), 430-443.

[5] "Le preesistenze ambientali e i temi practici contemporanei," *Casabella-Continuità* (February-March 1955): 3-6.

[6] "Programma: Domus, la casa dell'uomo," *Domus* (January, 1946).

[7] Sert, Léger, and Giedion's "Nine Points on Monumentality," Kahn's "Monumentality," and other contributions were published together in Paul Zuckerman, ed. *New Architecure and City Planning* (New York, Philosophical Library, 1944).

[8] Among many projects—there were four thousand damaged churches rebuilt between 1945-60 in France—perhaps the best known is the work at Assy; see William S Rubin, *Modern Sacred Art and the Church of Assy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961).

[9] Shiela Nowinski, "Creating Rouault's Legacy, 1945-1965: Commander in the Légion d'honneur, Artist of Catholic Modernity," in *Mystic Masque: Semblance and Reality in Georges Rouault, 1871-1958*, edited by Stephen Schloesser, 401-411 (Boston, MA:

Mcmullen Museum Of Art, Boston College, 2008); Adan Nichols, "The Dominicans and the Journal *L'Art sacré*," *New Blackfriars* 88, no. 1013 (January 2007): 25-45.

[10] Kavanaugh's explicitly Catholic approach is certainly appropriate to the subject matter here, Catholic parish churches in Rome, but my use of his work will emphasize its affinities with phenomenological methodology so as to keep open its relevance for broader contexts, to be suggested in the Conclusion.

[11] "Seeing Liturgically," in *Time and Community: In Honor of Thomas Julian Talley* (Washington: Pastoral Press, 1990), 266.

[12] Ibid., 270.

[13] I take the title of Kavanaugh's article to imply something of a phenomenological approach, even though the term does not come up specifically. The entire phenomenological heritage is rife with references to "seeing," perhaps most clearly in the primacy of "phenomenological seeing" taken up by Martin Heidegger after his teacher Edmund Husserl. See J. L. Mehta, *Martin Heidegger: The Way and the Vision* (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1976 [1967]), 20.

[14] Maurizio Unali, "Gaetano Rapisardi (1893-1988)," *Dossier di urbanistica e cultura del territorio* 10 (April-June 1990): 79-81.

[15] See Agnoldomenico Pica, *Nuova architettura italiana* (Milan: Hoepli, 1936); Università degli studi di Roma "La Sapienza." *1935/1985, La "Sapienza" nella città universitaria: Università degli studi di Roma "La Sapienza," Palazzo del Rettorato, 28 giugno/ 15 novembre 1985*. Roma: Multigrafica, 1985. See also Richard Etlin, *Modernism in Italian Architecture*, 418 ff.

[16] There is no direct evidence linking such a shift in direction to his specific experience of the Fascist state, under whose auspices the majority of his work in the 1930s was done, though the shift does at least suggest the question.

[17] Ruggiero Pilla, *La basilica di S. Giovanni Bosco in Roma* (Turin: Società Editrice Internazionale, 1969), 19-36. The literature on Giovanni Bosco, who founded the Society of Saint Francis of Sales (so-called the Salesian order) in 1859, is considerable. For an account of his educational ideas and practice, see Pietro Braido, *L'esperienza pedagogica di Don Bosco* (Rome: Libreria Ateneo Salesiano, 1988); for a study of his life, spirituality, and work, including the process leading to his canonization in 1934, see Pietro Stella, *Don Bosco nella storia della religiosità cattolica*, 3 vols. (Rome: Libreria Ateneo Salesiano, 1979-88).

[18] Pilla, *La basilica di S. Giovanni Bosco*, 21-22.

[19] Ibid., 21-36.

[20] Maurizio Unali, "La vicenda della chiesa di S. Giovanni Bosco al Tuscolano: dal concorso alla realizzazione," *Dossier di urbanistica e cultura del territorio* 10 (April-June 1990): 66. See also Ruggiero Pilla, *La basilica*, 23-27; Pilla reproduced the entire competition brief.

[21] Maurizio Unali, "La vicenda," 68; Ruggiero Pilla, *La basilica*, 30-32.

[22] Pilla, *La basilica di S. Giovanni Bosco*, 233, n. 1.

[23] Pilla, *La basilica di S. Giovanni Bosco*, 30.

[24] Mario Alfano, "L'attività della pontificia commissione centrale per l'arte sacra in Italia," *Fede e arte* 4 (April 1953): 117-22.

[25] Ibid., 34-35.

[26] Continuing deliberation over the interior character of the church is reflected by the construction timeline: construction began September 1953 and by the end of 1955 the exterior shell was substantially complete; the bulk of 1956 was spent in selection of materials and related decisions concerning the interior; most of 1957 occupied completing the interior, and the artworks were generally begun then and continued through 58 until completion. See Pilla, *La basilica*, 37-39.

[27] Maurizio Unali, "La vicenda," 69; Ruggiero Pilla, *La basilica*, 33.

[28] Maurizio Unali, "La vicenda," 72. I note here that the direction given the competition entrants as well as the evaluative comments surrounding the choice of Rapisardi are emphatic yet vague generalities concerning the qualities thought to be necessary, or appropriate, to a modern church. In fact, aside from the *domus dei* reference in the plea that all be welcome, that this be a house of God for all, the dominant themes are not precisely theology-laden at all: history versus modernity, and monumentality. Both the competition brief and the second-stage explanatory note contained liturgical specificity, to be sure, but these were limited to identifying required elements and indicating their expected disposition and use. For the first postwar competition for religious architecture, this combination—vague generalities that are yet emphatically urged—in is in fact evidence that identity (institutional, architectural, etc.) is itself very much at issue and in flux.

[29] E. Baldwin Smith, *Architectural Symbolism of Imperial Rome and the Middle Ages* (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1978).

[30] This is true only for the final design, modified by the addition of the portico (and minor adjustment of the drum proportions) after the second stage and in response to the direct criticism by the competition jury. See Ruggiero Pilla, *La basilica*, 34-36.

[31] See Nullo Pirazzoli, ed., *Arnoldo Foschini: didattica e gestione dell'architettura in Italia nella prima metà del Novecento* (Faenza: Faenza, 1979); Giuseppe Strappa and Gianfranco Caniggia, eds., *Tradizione e innovazione nell'architettura di Roma capitale, 1870-1930* (Rome: Kappa, 1989), 127-30.

[32] This ambivalence is partly due to the fact that, while the EUR has seen some material success as a district, it has been outside the administrative jurisdiction of the city's official Master Plans and has consistently conflicted with the various efforts to manage development of the city, including a general emphasis on decentralization as a remedy to traffic congestion.

[33] Marcello Piacentini and Ugo Ojetti, "Arches and Columns: The Debate between Piacentini and Ojetti, 1933," trans. and intro. Laura Neri. *Modulus* (1982): 7-17. Certainly the dome is derived from arcuated morphology, but the issue in the debate is the arch (and column) as formal signs. The dome is surely such a sign as well, but is not addressed as such in the Piacentini-Ojetti debate.

[34] At the University of Rome project, Foschini was also at the core of the design team with Piacentini and Rapisardi. See Richard Etlin, *Modernism in Italian Architecture*, 418 ff.

[35] Piacentini and Ojetti, 12-14.

[36] Maritain, *Art and Scholasticism*, 25, 39, 41, 85.

[37] This is not a matter of a revivalist historicism centered on attempts to mimic specific historical models, but just the fact that, against the background of the debate over arches, a choice to make such prominent use of them could easily be read as referring to one side of that debate. Nor is the contrast here with a Foschini who eschewed the arch in general; indeed, the auxiliary buildings to the church of SS. Pietro e Paulo as represented in the EUR archive at the ACS feature them prominently on the façade and elsewhere—and of course there is the dome, obviously descendent from arcuated construction. Rather, the contrast is that, having invoked the Foschini church formally, Rapisardi's façade stands out as equally, if not more, historicist by comparison, despite his modernist credentials via the Piacentini collaboration. The contrast is only heightened in light of the fact that Rapisardi's initial competition entry featured no arches whatsoever. See Maurizio Unali, "La vicenda," 66.

[38] ACS, EUR, Boxes 754, 757.

[39] The difference with the Mies usage is, of course, that in the Barcelona Pavilion the book-matched revetment covers walls that thereby declare themselves to be freestanding and emphatically not part of the structural system, while the cruciform chrome-clad columns that were structural tended to diminish by their reflectivity. Rapisardi is being less emphatic but employing material in a similarly ornamental manner.

[40] The actual architectural implications of the Second Vatican Council's reforms, liturgical and otherwise, and the principles to which it appealed, will be more directly addressed in Chapter 5, in light of Luigi Moretti's Sancta Maria Mater Ecclesiae.

[41] Emilio Gentile, *The Sacralization of Politics in Fascist Italy*, trans. Keith Botsford (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), 130.

[42] Indeed, as Elena Ippoliti has shown, the urban design in which S. Giovanni Bosco is featured derived from an "ideal city" approach to development, stemming from the city plan of 1931, which encouraged viewing newly growing areas along the periphery as largely autonomous as a strategy for preserving the historic city center. The Don Bosco quarter in particular is a result of several factors: the church's central role in a Fascist-era setting, comprising grand axes, monumental piazzas, and historical urban types; nearby INA-Casa developments by Mario De Renzi and Saverio Muratori; Adalberto Libera's notion of the "città orizzontale"; plus the sheer fact of intensive speculation. See Elena Ippoliti, "Il Tuscolano attraverso le previsioni urbanistiche," *Dossier di urbanistica e cultura del territorio* 10 (April-June 1990): 60-65.

[43] To return briefly from this vantage point to the formal-typological analysis considering SS. Pietro e Paolo, the differences between the handling of the statuary in the two churches is remarkable and appropriate to the subject matter, siting, and implicit conception of monumentality: the scale and disposition of the two apostles at the top of the steep stairs and flanking the entry to the EUR church corresponds to the domineering and grand gesture of overlooking the city from atop the hill, and Peter and Paul together represent the universality of the church (Peter to the Jews, Paul to the Gentiles); the contrast with S. Giovanni Bosco, both the church and the person himself, is then quite strong, for Bosco is thoroughly associated with service to the poor, the young, and the otherwise neglected of society, and so the statues are relatively modest and the church itself is, while monumental, plunked down in the middle of the city.

[44] The artisan was Federico Papi. See Ruggiero Pilla, *La basilica*, 76-78.

[45] See Ruggiero Pilla, *La basilica*, 32, 34.

[46] The artisan for both mosaic rings was Augusto Ranocchi. See Ruggiero Pilla, *La basilica*, 182-91.

[47] I have found no indication that this was a matter of something left unfinished; historic photos show the same condition. See Ruggiero Pilla, *La basilica*, 85, 87.

[48] The artisans were Marcello Avenali and Lorenzo Gigotti. See Ruggiero Pilla, *La basilica*, 198-217.

[49] The stained glass artisan was Bruno Saiti. See Ruggiero Pilla, *La basilica*, 218-23.

[50] See Ruggiero Pilla, *La basilica*, 34-35. The precise reasoning behind the decision against any such doors I have not been able to discover, but there does seem to be an implicit general predisposition against such gestures in the unfolding of the events following from the initial competition announcement (which had no such provision) to the Explanatory Note for the second stage (which allowed it in the transepts, almost grudgingly), to the simple direction for their removal from the nave of the winning design.

[51] The other is Santa Martia Regina degli Apostoli alla Montagnola, by Studio Forneris-Favini, 1947-54, a decidedly more historicist design of greek-cross plan with a dome over the crossing. See Stefano Mavilio, *Guida all'architetura sacra: Roma 1945-2005* (Milan: Electa, 2006), 194-95.

[52] See *Casabella Continuità* 215 (1957); Luigi Beretta Anguisola, *I 14 anni del piano INA Casa* (Rome: Staderini, 1963).

[53] But see, for starters, Saverio Busiri Vici, *L'architettura di Saverio Busiri Vici e cenni su alcuni altri architetti della sua famiglia, 1651-1974* (Roma: La Pace, 1974) and *Attualità di Le Corbusier* (Roma: La Pace, 1966).

[54] This last theme is of course central to Liberation Theology, which would emerge in the coming decade.

Chapter 3

"A Machine for Praying":

S. Gregorio VII (1957-61)

The Franciscan parish church of S. Gregorio VII, by Mario Paniconi (1904-73) and Giulio Pediconi (1906-99), is the exemplar in this study of mediation as updating, an approach to the negotiation between history and modernity that seeks to build upon a living tradition by taking up commonly held forms and types and translating them into a new expression (Figs. 3.1, 3.2, 3.3, 3.4). Here the focus is not at all upon a problematic recent past but rather upon the larger and related question of continuity: in what manner may the architectural and theological identity of modern postwar Italy be continuous with its long history on both fronts—or must there be a fundamental break and a new beginning? Paniconi and Pediconi's work as seen in S. Gregorio VII exhibits a compelling argument that a strategy of updating out of a fundamental continuity, at least in certain strands, can nonetheless nourish a viable modernism that wholly eschews nostalgia.

As with S. Giovanni Bosco, the church will present a sort of hybrid quality, but here the emphasis is placed more on modernizing forms so as to continue a

traditional model, with a rather clear typological awareness, as well as make the model relevant to the present situation. Indeed, the sense of an underlying typological identity is immediately evident in this church, and the care with which Paniconi and Pediconi managed its updating make it a good exemplar of the most prevalent among the modes of mediation identified in this study.

On Wednesday, 18 May 1955, Radio Vaticana broadcast a roundtable discussion on the topic of the possibility of modern architecture in sacred art.[1] Presiding over the discussion was Monsignor Giovanni Fallani (1910-1985), an editor at the journal *Fede e arte* and President of the Pontifical Commission on Sacred Art, and one of the participants was the Roman architect Giulio Pediconi. The very question was an acknowledgment that it was something at issue, a problem for the Church as well as for the architectural community, and presumed some level of potential incompatibility between the sacred and the modern. Discussion began with the problem of the relation between the past and the present, and so was centered upon the matter of identity as it converged on the idea of the modern church. The conversation ranged over many permutations on the question: the relative virtues of artistic freedom and honoring traditional form languages; whether the use of modern forms in architecture was a matter merely of modern materials or also a spiritual issue; the obligation of architects to resolve conflicting tendencies in a single design, from respecting dogma and liturgy to giving expression to imagination; the good

fortune that is a church commission, given the expressive possibilities; the provenance and enduring appeal of historical styles for many; the conviction that design should represent the present, or express the spirit of the time; the question whether modern "simplicity" was unique to modernity or more deeply rooted.

But then Pediconi shifted the tone and insisted that the problem was in fact the focus on imagination, for a religious building was the only kind that allowed this, all others generally being considered according to function. Invoking Le Corbusier's famous line from *Vers une architecture* (1923), "Une maison est une machine-à-habiter," Pediconi acknowledged the prevalent ambivalence about the dictum, yet immediately suggested its applicability to church architecture: "there could also be machines for praying."[2] That he returned to the issue on his own the following January, in the extended form of an article published in *Fede e arte*, may be indication that the comment had prompted some controversy.[3] Nevertheless, his explanation in the 1956 article provides a thorough outline of his approach to the problem of modern religious architecture. Furthermore, the entire episode of the radio roundtable discussion and the subsequent explanation raises the salient themes of the historical context in which the church addressed in this chapter is situated: the ongoing matter of modern technology as involved in both the problems facing humanity and their potential solutions; the question of significant form and the possibility of sharing it in common; and the manner in which both technology and

form are caught up in the challenge of modern church architecture, most especially with regard to the continuing viability of building types.

Of the modern churches in Rome, S. Gregorio VII is by far the closest to the basilica of St. Peter and the Vatican, which are less than half a mile to the northeast. The architects received the commission for the church in 1957.[4] Construction began on 30 March 1958, and proceeded for a little more than three years. The congregation began to use the crypt in the basement level of the church for worship while the remainder of the building was being completed. And, in 1961, for an entire week, from 20-28 May, the parish held a consecration celebration, which included the transfer from Palermo of relics to be installed in the new church.[5] Therefore, S. Gregorio VII was being built virtually under the shadow of the Papacy during what was arguably the most dramatic upheaval in its identity for centuries. Pope Pius XII, whose tenure was marked primarily by intransigence and reaction in the face of modernity, died on 8 October 1958. The election of the pastoral Patriarch of Venice (since 1953), Angelo Giuseppe Roncalli as Pope John XXIII on 28 October, at seventy-seven years old, may have been strategically an attempt to buy time in order to settle upon and prepare for the best successor when he inevitably died soon. But his announcement on 25 January 1959 that he would convene a council, couched in ecumenical and positive terms, signaled at least the possibility that major change was coming.

While the opening ceremony of the first session of the Second Vatican Council did not occur until 11 October 1962, the preparations for it were immense and began just a few months after the announcement. More precisely, the Ante-Preparatory Commission was appointed in May 1959 with the mandate to solicit and gather opinions and comments from relevant parties around the world regarding which issues were felt to require the attention of the coming Council. This was itself a massive effort, involving contacting 2,598 clergy, all members of all Congregations of the Curia, and all institutions of higher education with papal charters. All responses from this stage filled twelve volumes when later published. Then on 5 June 1960 the directly preparatory stage commenced with the establishment of ten Preparatory Commissions, charged with the task of composing documents on the subjects suggested through the solicitation of opinions that would be the basis for the work of the Council. For the next two years roughly 850 clergy worked on this, as members of Commissions were frequently aided by their own *periti*, or consulting experts, on the subject of their documents, which totaled seven published volumes when complete. Finally, the Council itself, meeting for several weeks each fall for four consecutive years beginning in 1962, meant that approximately 7,500 people were in Rome in these years at any given time because of the Council.[6]

Thus, the new parish church of S. Gregorio VII was surrounded by official activity concerning Vatican II, from before it was completed through to almost five years after its consecration. Furthermore, beyond the emerging sense of the Council's

reforms being directed to engagement with the modern world, the scale of the four sessions itself gave the religious experience in Rome a newly modernized character out of sheer logistical necessity: an American Protestant observer attending the first session recorded in his journal that "the great pile of St. Peter's is skillfully wired for sound so that with microphones in strategic places even a whispered note can be heard in the remotest part."[7] The gargantuan, monumental basilica was filled with 2,905 seats for the participants in the Council sessions. Even the quintessentially traditional institution in Rome, ever changing at a glacial pace when not working to resist change altogether, was therefore steeped in these years with concerns of modern identity, including the mundane aspects of technology and functionality.[8]

Similar themes dominated the architectural discourse during these years, though with a distinct note of critique directed towards modernism's developing reception. Perhaps the single most important intervention in this regard was by the art historian and professor Giulio Carlo Argan.[9] In the 1957 article, "Architettura e ideologia," he sought to reclaim the moral and political edge to modernism, which had been present in the Bauhaus and other early modernist endeavors but had since become subordinated to if not completely eclipsed by an aesthetic ideology. Materially changing the world for the better through the careful application of modern technology was the real meaning of attention to function, not any look of functionalism. His chief diagnosis of the socio-political cause underlying the decline

of modernism's ethical import was the failure to see the choice between technocracy and humanism as a false choice: technology and its employment could and must be an integral part of any viably modern humanism.[10]

Argan's article came in the midst of the renewed criticism of modernism from within, so to speak, that was oriented towards reforming it away from its perceived inhumane and alienating, as well as merely aesthetic, aspects. The formation in 1957 of the "Team 10" group within the Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM) is a key international example of this development.[11] More locally, the Italian debate over so-called "Neo-Liberty" architecture, such as BBPR's Torre Velasca in Milan (1954), concerned the question of whether such formal experiments constituted a betrayal of modernism towards an antihistorical (because not fully modern) romanticism. The same charge was leveled at Le Corbusier's pilgrimage chapel Notre Dame du Haut in Ronchamp, France, also completed in 1954, by Argan and others. Finally, less critical of others than straightforwardly evocative in his own proposal, Louis Kahn advocated for a renewed attention to constructive detail through a performative conception of form in "Architecture is the Thoughtful Making of Spaces," published in 1957 but soon expanded and presented at the 1959 CIAM meeting in Otterlo, in which he insisted that "a space in architecture shows how it is made."[12]

These years also saw distinct shifts in the political landscape pertaining to the interplay between modern Capitalist development and matters of social concern,

itself a dynamic involving technology and humanism, beginning to take place that would culminate only in the 1960s. Playing a central role in the "economic miracle" that dramatically increased production in so many areas through 1963, the working classes began to gain a measure of political weight that at least recast them in the eyes of the current parties. Amid its steady growth in political power, the Christian Democrat governing coalition debated the inclusion of parties on the left, for as industrialization continued and effects (and benefits) of modernization became entrenched, workers were increasingly needed (and were also simply more numerous). The movement towards the inclusion of leftists, especially socialists, was mightily resisted by the institutional Church as tantamount to communist flirtation, but nevertheless a shift to the center-left occurred by 1962 that would last a decade. In the background of many such debates were varying attitudes towards American influence; even supporters of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization alliance had become frustrated at the relative inattention accorded the economic aspects of the agreements.[13]

In the midst of this historical, religious, and architectural context, then, Paniconi and Pediconi's church of S. Gregorio VII exhibits a mode of mediation characterized as updating insofar as it is a modernization of a standard church type through specific strategies and choices regarding how to use the modern building materials and methods at hand. Stated as such, this form of mediation owes nothing to the theological content necessarily involved in the ecclesiastical building type.

Background

Classmates in architecture school, Mario Paniconi and Giulio Pediconi built an important architectural practice in Rome that achieved significant local success through a partnership lasting roughly half a century. They established a solid reputation for professional service and intellectual leadership, serving on various journals' editorial boards and competition juries, as teachers, and as practitioners. Both born in Rome during the first decade of the twentieth century, they attended the Scuola di Architettura di Roma in their twenties, Mario Paniconi graduating in 1929 and Giulio Pediconi following in 1930. They founded their practice, Paniconi and Pediconi, in 1931, and the following year helped found the Raggruppamento Architetti Moderni Italiani (RAMI), which became known for striking a moderate position within the debates surrounding modernism and tradition. Members of RAMI insisted that truly modern architecture should avoid both extremes of academic historicism and purist novelty, as the former had little viable future and the latter risked forgetting the richness of inherited ways of building.[14]

They pursued independent but complementary paths outside of the office, where they worked not only on commissions but on numerous competitions, especially in the 1930s. Paniconi was from 1933 an editor at the review *Architettura*, the journal of the Fascist Union of Architects (Sindacato Nazionale Fascista Architetti), under the general directorship of Marcello Piacentini. He began teaching

at his alma mater, the Scuola di Architettura di Roma, in 1939, and served on juries for major competitions in the immediate postwar years, the most prominent of which was that for the new Stazione Termini in Rome. Pediconi was likewise involved in architectural publishing during the 1930s, as an editor for *Rassegna di Architettura*. He served as Secretary of the Syndicate of Architects in Lazio in 1938. He taught most of his professional life, beginning in 1934 at the Facoltà di Scienze, then from 1959 at the Facoltà di Ingegneria, where he would later direct the Istituto di Disegno until his departure in 1976.

After the war, the partnership directed their efforts in the main to three categories of architecture that were characterized by pressing needs both materially and in terms of identity: housing (from public housing estates to middle class interiors), civic institutions (including headquarters for major public agencies, such as INA), and religious communities (from individual parishes to whole environments for religious orders).[15] Among their ecclesiastical work, the focus on religious orders was of special importance in Rome, being as it is the centerpiece for all such organizations, most having a central office there that also served the needs of far-flung members when they came to gather and to interact with the hierarchy of the Church.

Of particular significance far beyond Rome, however, was the sustained efforts made by Paniconi and Pediconi to address the challenges of postwar reconstruction as they arose among churches that had been destroyed or damaged

during the war. In an important letter to Gustavo Giovannoni (1873-1947)[16] from July 1945, Mario Paniconi communicated that they had begun a thorough documentation of such churches but pleaded that what was needed was a plan—one that was not only nuanced enough to acknowledge the differences among cases regarding the extent of damage but also sufficiently committed to be able to address the subtle problems of finding the best approach.[17] Cataloging the range of possible approaches, he distinguished among reconstruction in original forms, various degrees and versions of restoration, and rebuilding or remodeling in new modes but with sympathy to what had been. In all cases, he acknowledged that new locations may be appropriate for some reconstruction efforts. He also argued the importance of such projects for the identity of Romans and Italians generally, on the basis that, even though individual parish churches were typically not national monuments in any sense, they nevertheless constituted an integral part of the built environment of Italy's cities, which itself was a constitutive factor in the broader matter of cultural identity. Given the cultural construction of Italian identity as it was developed, something as coherent or tangible as church architecture could prove especially valuable.

The commission for S. Gregorio VII, while being a parish church, was intimately connected with the Franciscan religious order. The Vicariate of Rome had entrusted the parish it would serve to the order, and they in turn sponsored the building project. It was funded by small donations from provinces throughout the

order, but primarily from the Franciscans of North America.[18] The local Franciscans expressed their desire that themes pertinent to the history of their order, as well as the artistic tradition in which such themes had been embodied historically, find resonance in the new building and its liturgical furnishings and artworks.[19] Paniconi and Pediconi seemed an appropriate choice for this challenge as they had already formed a reputation for navigating a middle ground amidst what they saw as a false choice between tradition and modernity. In an essay from 1942, they argued that this was no genuine pair of options, nor was this a matter of finding a simple compromise. Rather, it was a challenge for a sustained practice of conscious choices all along the way, in every detail, for that which would serve the highest artistic ideals as well as guard against the various abuses and excesses to which such a context was perennially open.[20]

The essay cited above, "Stile di Paniconi e Pediconi," was explicitly concerned with the matter of style, in the face of contemporary attempts to create a distinctly modern style as if it were a matter of revolution or otherwise beginning anew. Rather, Paniconi and Pediconi argued that style was a deeply historical phenomenon that always developed out of common discourse and practice, and thus relatively slowly and in dialogue with the past. The resulting ways of thinking, indeed "commonplaces," were then made concrete through the "definition and fullness of expressive form."[21] Such a design philosophy gave rise over a decade later to the episode with which this chapter opened, with Giulio Pediconi suggesting that a

church could fruitfully be considered a "machine for praying" despite the apparent alienation such an image may imply.[22]

This is a program for mediation as updating, emphasizing as it does the foundational importance of tradition as a living phenomenon, out of which genuine innovation occurs that may, with the help of artists and architects but ultimately not under their complete control, give birth to genuinely new forms of expression. How, then, is such a program at work in the church of S. Gregorio VII?

Formal-Typological Analysis

Sited along the winding Via S. Gregorio VII just several blocks (less than half a mile) to the southwest from St. Peter's basilica, the church sits perpendicular to the street with its face right up against the front of the lot, the entry covered by a heavily articulated portico in the form of a Vierendeel truss (Fig. 3.1). The site is immediately adjacent to a railroad overpass and the church just fits in the space allotted by the required setbacks (Fig 3.2). The building is a mostly solid-walled rectangular mass with a steep multi-pedimented roof, the entirety articulated by an exposed reinforced concrete frame filled with brickwork, patterned mainly according to horizontal divisions.

With regard to typological and formal precedent, two dominant themes emerge as ordering the church, which together amount to a strategy of updating: the adaptation of the basilican church type towards a modern tectonic expression, and

the translation of significant artistic references associated with Franciscan history into the midst of this new expression.

In overall massing, proportion, and form, S. Gregorio VII follows the standard basilican type of many historical churches, including a variation on the nave-plus-aisles formula in plan (Fig. 3.3). The basilica type is characterized chiefly by its longitudinal plan organization; the implicit hierarchy within directed towards one end, often marked by an apse; a spacious interior generously lit by clerestory windows. All such characteristics are rooted in Roman antiquity but updated and adapted in various ways ever since, such that some variation on the basilica underlies the vast majority of western churches. The baptismal chapel and other subsidiary chapels are aligned in a low block along one side of the building. A crypt lies below the main floor of the church, and a detached campanile stands at the northeastern side (Fig. 3.4). The concrete frame that appears throughout the exterior as the dominant structural system of the building is revealed, upon entering the church, to hold only the enclosing walls, as the roof rests entirely upon an intricate web of reinforced concrete trusses that resolve into tapered piers diminishing towards the floor (Fig. 3.5). Despite an initially straightforward plan and massing arrangement, the dual systems of structure and enclosure suggest something more subtle at work.

Inside, the piers are attenuated by their cruciform section and stand in regular rhythm throughout the length of the interior. The proportion of the nave space is elongated towards the far end, and the now striking band of light from atop the

enclosing walls similarly leads the eye in this direction. The resulting longitudinal orientation emphasizes a compositional hierarchy, within which the altar end stands out as having special status. At the altar end, several steps raise the sanctuary up on high, and three concrete-framed mural-covered walls held slightly aloft, within the larger enclosure of the church, embrace the sanctuary on three sides with particular focus (Fig. 3.6). Indeed, the organ pops through one of these walls, as if to reach in and direct its music emphatically to the altar, thereby reinforcing the focusing gesture of this enclosure. And, the semi-enclosed sanctuary sits directly under the final crossing of the trussed reinforced concrete vaulting overhead, which suspends a bronze sculpture ring comprising figures of the crucified Jesus, the Madonna, and S. Francis, accompanied by angels.[23]

Distinct variations appear throughout the building, however, that give this old and rather standardized typology a modern expression, primarily resulting from the exploitation of the structural possibilities of reinforced concrete but not directed towards sheer heroics. Rather, Paniconi and Pediconi give dynamic nuance to an old formula by investing it with attention to constructional details that reinforce the traditional values of hierarchy and order, even while they are emphatic about being modern.

For instance, the fact that the roof is supported by the piers within the building is expressed on the exterior by stopping the wall piers at the top of the wall and letting the roof structure visually hover directly atop the clerestory fenestration

(Fig. 3.7). Yet this is a relatively subtle move, if also explicit when considered directly, in that the resulting array of articulated elements constitutes a larger composition that is, on the whole, static and stable: the cantilevered roof forms do not extend out beyond the walls (they stop before the wall piers) and the dominant visual ordering device of the white concrete frame includes horizontal closures both at the top of the walls and along the underside of the roof all around, such that the white frame is perceived mainly as continuous. Furthermore, the horizontal fenestration zone just below the roof is short and, viewed from outside during the day, reads not too clearly as glass but rather loosely approximates a dark penumbral zone one would expect under a traditional roof with a conventional overhang. The result is an overall image of the exterior that hardly emphasizes the gap between the roof and the walls below.

Similarly, in the interior the placement, shape, and rotated orientation of the piers combine effectively to minimize the presence of side aisles, almost so far as to suggest rather the spatial uniformity of a hall church. And while the uniform ceiling height would also suggest a hall church model, the dual lines of fenestration (clerestory and midway up the wall) recall the horizontal striation of a basilica. It appears almost as a synthesis of the basilica and hall church types, yet the aggregate form appears unified rather than any amalgam. In myriad details on the exterior but even more so within, great attention is paid to how elements of construction come together so as to achieve a harmonious whole while yet maintaining the discrete

identity of each constituent part (Figs 3.8 and 3.9). Thus, modern materials and construction technology are featured prominently but with subtlety and with deference to the relation of the parts to the whole, and so to the traditional identity of the type.[24]

Franciscan themes are present in two ways: formal devices and motifs from S. Rufino Cathedral in Assisi appear to be referenced in S. Gregorio VII, and certain elements from Giotto's "Legend of St. Francis" fresco cycle on the north wall in the upper church of the basilica of S. Francesco, Assisi, are represented entirely on the exterior of the Roman church. The Paniconi and Pediconi archives preserve several postcards from Assisi in the project files, including depictions of S. Rufino and two Giotto panels.

The façade of the modern church echos the compositional order of the façade of S. Rufino in its tripartite division, proportion and massing, and the horizontal emphasis given about a third of the way up, though this is more emphatic in an earlier design (Figs 3.10 and 3.11). And the carved figures (including the four evangelists) imbedded in the masonry surrounding the rose window of the S. Rufino façade also find a latter-day expression in the row of sheep leading into the entrance of S. Gregorio VII (Figs 3.12 and 3.13). Another postcard in the files shows Giotto's portrayal of the Papal approval of the rule governing the new order, featuring S. Francis in front of Pope Innocent III: this, too, is represented anew in a carved panel inset into the masonry near the entry to the modern church (Figs. 3.14 and

3.15). The sheep in Rome protrude significantly from the background surface plane of the wall, and in this respect are markedly different from the other sculptural panel (compare Figs 3.13 and 3.15). This may just be a matter of following their respective Renaissance prototypes, but it also may be a sign that the sheep were decided upon later and therefore installed differently. There is no direct documentation as to when either were completed, but in the "Nota" dated 3 December 1962 several artworks are described as installed; the approval panel is mentioned but no sheep are referenced. More intriguing, however, is the fact that the new Pope, John XXIII, took up the theme of the "Good Shepherd" as particularly his own beginning with his Coronation Mass on 4 November 1958, at which he had Franciscan friars burn smoking flax as a palpable reminder of the Pope's mortality. And he insisted on preaching a homily at the event, which had never been done, in which he presented himself in terms completely opposed to those of his predecessor: Pope John was to be "shepherd" and even "brother" to the people.[25] And he returned to the theme of the Good Shepherd frequently and soon thereafter, as in his Apostolic Letter *Boni Pastoris* of 22 February 1959.[26]

Giotto's fresco of Innocent III's dream provided inspiration not only to the modern artisans but also to the architects. While the event is seen in another inset panel, the architecture in the modern version is changed (Figs. 3.16 and 3.17). Gone are the architectural forms of the sleeping canopy from Giotto's fresco. And yet, notice that this canopy over Giotto's Innocent III features a repetition of many

small gables that is strikingly similar to those of the roof of S. Gregorio VII. Perhaps the modern version of the dream scene features a simple textile canopy because it is, after all, covered already by a version of the original pedimented roof-scape, writ large in the architecture of the church.

Through the adaptation and subtle modification of the basilican type and Franciscan formal references into a new expression driven by tectonics, Paniconi and Pediconi have sought to develop tradition towards a viable modernism that nourishes a coherent and lasting identity. This they achieved mainly through ornamental means. The artworks are perhaps obviously enough ornaments to the architecture, for they mediate between the human being and the building in terms of express content. More subtle but of equal importance is the tectonic form of ornament found in the careful attention to details of joints and assemblages, including their attendant textures and patterns. These articulations—the manner of joining materials and forms that give a distinctly modern expression to the practice of construction—themselves constitute a form of ornament. Such tectonic ornament gives a masonry wall a form that raises it above utility, mediating between mere function and a fuller presence that in turn supports and nourishes the broader aims of the architecture (Fig. 3.18).

The experience of the whole in S. Gregorio VII is governed by an updating mode of mediation enabled by a tectonic form of ornament. Yet the continuing questions, what is a church? and how is art to be related to religion? both remain

unanswered without recourse to theology-laden discourse. Giulio Pediconi's reflections introduced in the episode opening this chapter certainly presuppose the relevance of such concepts and will assist in working out a second analysis that will complement this first in the direction of beauty and divine glory.

Phenomenological-Theological Analysis

Initial views of S. Gregorio VII are inevitably oblique urban glimpses of a mass that fits in well with the predominant pairing of concrete frame and brick infill (Fig. 3.19). As one gets closer, the approach is noticeably abrupt: the church sits right up at the street edge and the façade is less permeable compared to its plausible precedent, S. Rufino, clearly demarcating a separation between street and church (Fig. 3.20). The central steps cut through the plinth on which the church sits and lead directly to the entry, but otherwise the front suggests a temenos-like boundary surrounding a sacred precinct. The interior presents a longitudinally-ordered hierarchy that accords the altar end special importance. Thus, from approach to entry to movement within towards the altar, multiple gestures mark a separation from the exterior world and thereby invoke a sense of sacred space. All of this together suggests reference to the *domus dei* model, a notion further corroborated by the architects' use of "Tempio" in describing the church rather than the more quotidian alternatives, such as "chiesa."[27]

However, there are other crucial gestures that modify such a reading and even suggest a *domus ecclesiae* and, together with the initial observations, provide the basis for a richer and more complex spatial experience. The common nave-plus-aisles form is modified to significant effect: the piers that would line the aisles are set so close to the outer walls that they constitute rather a structural order running parallel to the enclosure rather than a lateral space to inhabit (Fig. 3.21). The "aisles" provide for circulation only; the nave is therefore the singular gathering space for the assembly during a liturgy. Furthermore, the tapered piers and the trusses they support are twisted 45 degrees from the wall plane, giving a diagonal and even lateral dynamic to the formal articulation of the space, especially among the intersecting trussed vault structure and the resulting roof forms (Fig. 3.22). This mitigates against the otherwise headlong longitudinal directionality of the nave and its focus upon the sanctuary and altar. And, the manner in which the sanctuary is partially enclosed by the elevated walls-cum-murals gives it special focus, to be sure, yet it does not conclude the longitudinal nave space as much as it rests within the larger, dynamic, and quite unified space of the entire interior. Indeed, it also floats above the crypt, visible to the main floor from both sides (Fig. 2.23). The overall gesture is captured nicely in the quick sketch of a plan preserved in the archives (Fig. 3.24).

As one moves around within the building, the sheer amount of light and its diffuse quality is not only a surprise but somewhat of a shock, especially given the initial gesture from the entry of a mainly hermetic enclosure. This is largely due to

the filtered light coming in through the vertical faces of the roof gables, articulated as they are by hollow brick, which allows more open surface area than is directly visible from most angles below. In general, however, there is no single characteristic light that dominates in the interior, for there are four distinctly different light sources, all of which contribute to a subtle effect of synthesis.[28] The consistency of the fenestration ringing the upper reaches of the interior, coupled with the lower band of windows and the carefully deployed artificial lighting throughout, give the sense of being inside a kind of gem. Indeed, Pediconi characterized the ideal form of the modern urban church to be just such, when considered in light of the otherwise dominant forms that have superseded the public role of ecclesiastical architecture, institutionally and formally.[29] And this appears especially apropos to the small chapel appended to the west wall, as the light there is a combination of a cross overhead in emphatically artificial light with a softer ring of diffuse light from outside reflected off the blue-painted soffit (Fig. 3.25).

Finally, when one turns to recess, the inner face of the street front presents aloft its light-filled pediment, gathering together the mini-pediments that highlight the roof forms elsewhere, here offering a level of transparency and communication with the exterior world that contrasts sharply with the otherwise hermetic enclosure of the interior (Fig. 3.26). Thus, as one leaves the liturgy and re-enters the world, one acknowledges the dominant source of the church's clear light, as if to accentuate the unity of the assembled "body of Christ."

The hybridized mediation as updating at work here through a tectonic form of ornament is not limited to historical models and their modern reinterpretation, but applies as well to the two dominant models of the church: S. Gregorio VII is at once a *domus dei* and a *domus ecclesiae*, at once demarcating a sacred space and invoking the holy as that which utterly transcends the human gathering within its walls. If ornament plays a mediating role with regard to type and form, then how does beauty figure in a work of such an updating synthesis? Here Pediconi's essay, "La chiesa 'macchina' per pregare?...," is helpful, for it immediately predates this project and addresses this very issue.

Pediconi argued that, rationalist presumptions notwithstanding, there was and had always been a dialogue between a material order and a spiritual order, and out of this has arisen genuine evolution and continual updating.[30] Contemporary pretensions regarding style confused the picture, however, for the great architects of the past had always been "modern" for their time, never working for a style until the nineteenth century. He insisted that the central challenge for any modern architect was, therefore, to pursue "constructive sincerity" according to materials and "sincerity in function" according to the forms of structure (now highly plastic due to reinforced concrete), consonant with present technology but eschewing any mechanical sense of functionalism.[31]

On this view of modern architecture, it was surely appropriate to the purposes of a church. It was more than merely appropriate, however, for Pediconi

also argued that the "eternal values" implicit in a church as a type (the *domus dei* model: "la casa di Dio") meant that the architect's aim must be to create a place—including space, light, and form—that would encourage and facilitate "spiritual elevation" towards and communion with "Divine Things," otherwise known as prayer.[32] And as such things were inherently beautiful—how could they be otherwise and still be divine?—such environments would likewise be beautiful insofar as they facilitated such an elevation and thereby enabled such a communion and prayer. Indeed, the modernism outlined according to constructive sincerity would amount to nourishing a living architecture, one that naturally gives birth to an "eternal beauty" that is nonetheless ever new: the architect's "sublime mission" is always to guide the public towards the discovery of new beauty.[33]

In the careful updating of a synthesis among the dominant theology-laden concepts intrinsic to church architecture, Paniconi and Pediconi sought to transcend the impasse between tradition and innovation and, in turn, to create something that held real beauty as a mediator between the human and the divine.

Comparanda

That modern updating of standard typological precedent should be a well-represented approach for postwar churches in these years is to be expected. Indeed, the watchword in the years immediately preceding the Council that was broadly used to describe the tenor of the expected reforms was *aggiornamento*, or "updating."

Several examples will provide a sense of the range covered by this approach. One is Ennio Canino's SS. Redentore (1977), coming rather late compared to most comparanda of this mode (Figs. 3.27, 3.28). An international influence is arguably seen by this time in Italy, perhaps especially the work of Louis Kahn, though Canino is nevertheless pursuing a simple variation on a historic form through manipulation of light and formal geometry. S. Pio V (1952), by Tullio Rossi, is a version of mediation as updating that takes a hall church type and redresses the interior surface articulation towards a more abstract conception (Figs. 3.29, 3.30). A curious result here is the refinement of the nave-aisle transition in section into a unitary volume held aloft by square piers. Marco Piloni's S. Maria della Mercede (1958) is a compact composition set in a tight urban site that maximizes the space within with a tall and narrow block, now revised formally by tapered and polygonal piers-cum-vaults (Figs. 3.31, 3.32). By contrast, Passarelli Studio's S. Francesco d'Assisi ad Acilla (1960) is truly a suburban church, setting comfortably in the landscape with low side aisles reaching out like wings and echoed by roof and porch forms (Figs. 3.33 and 3.34). The major updating here is, once again, a rendering of traditional orders (columns and trusses) in a modern constructional idiom (tapered reinforced concrete of a sculptural form). Finally, and looking back to one of the earliest buildings in this study, Bruno Maria Apollonj-Ghetti's Chiesa dei Martiri Canadesi (1952-55) takes the standard hall church form and reconciles it with a distinctly sober and fortified presence for the exterior, as well as with a surprisingly fluid and simple interior (Figs. 3.35 and 3.36).

Conclusion

Paniconi and Pediconi's parish church dedicated to S. Gregorio VII is an exemplar of mediation as updating, taking up pre-existing models and modernizing them, carrying them forward with modifications for use in a new context. Mediation as updating is fundamentally about striking a middle course between facile historicism and reductionist modernism. At all events it seeks precisely to nourish a living architecture, bringing types and models along into new contexts and, in constant dialogue with the factors that circumscribe contemporary practice, reconstituting them enough for them to be renewed but not so radically that they become unrecognizable, in which case the tradition risks being lost. If the tectonic form of ornament mediates between long-standing precedent and their modern reformulation, as well as between the individual human and the ability to read the building as a whole, then the liturgical experience of beauty as the locus of communion with "Divine Things" does the same for the theology-laden context. Indeed, beauty is, theologically speaking, nothing more (or less) than divine glory and radiance made manifest and given concrete form.

And, in the case of S. Gregorio VII, a tectonic form of ornament not only embodies the tenor of updating and modernization but it also coheres well with Maritain's articulation of a uniquely modern, anti-representational yet spiritual

aesthetic as "the expression or manifestation, in a work suitably proportioned, of some secret principle of intelligibility which shines forth.[34]

Chapter 3 Notes

[1] The content of the roundtable discussion aired by Vatican Radio was published as "Possibilità dell'architettura moderna nell'arte sacra," *Fede e arte* 3, no. 7 (1955): 205-07.

[2] Le Corbusier--Saugnier, *Vers Une Architecture* (Paris: Les Editions G. Cres et Cie, 1923); "Possibilità dall'architettura moderna nell'arte sacra," 206.

[3] "La chiesa 'macchina' per pregare?..." *Fede e arte* 4, no. 1 (1956): 22-24.

[4] "Nota," dated 3 December 1962. ACS, Paniconi e Pediconi Archive, Box 60. The Paniconi and Pediconi Archive at the ACS covering S. Gregorio VII comprise Boxes 60-62, which contain correspondence, notes, and reports, blue-line prints of architectural and structural construction documents, design drawings, photographs, and miscellaneous items.

However, there also exist in the Paniconi and Pediconi Archive extant hard-line prints of structural drawings for an early version of the church, labeled as S. Gregorio VII but dated as early as September 1956. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, I suggest these may just be the result of preliminary consultation in advance of securing the commission. Subsequent, more fully realized structural drawings dated to 1957 or after also exist in the Archive.

[5] "Nota," dated 3 December 1962. ACS, Paniconi e Pediconi Archive, Box 60.

[6] The four sessions were: 11 October to 8 December 1962; 29 September to 4 December 1963; 14 September to 21 November 1964; 14 September to 8 December 1965. See John John W. O'Malley, *What Happened at Vatican II* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 19-23.

[7] Quoted in John O'Malley, *What Happened*, 24.

[8] Ibid., 23-24. Pope John XXIII issued an Apostolic Letter concerning modern communications technology within months of his election: *Boni Pastoris*, establishing the Pontifical Commission for Motion Pictures, Radio and Television (February 22, 1959), available online at: http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_xxiii/motu_proprio/documents/hf_j-xxiii_motu-proprio_22021959_boni-pastoris_en.html.

[9] Argan would later be the Mayor of Rome, its first from the Community Party (PCI), 1976-79.

[10] "Architettura e ideologia," *Zodiac* 1 (1957): 47-52.

[11] See Eric Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928-60* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2000), especially chapter 4. See also Alison and Peter Smithson, "The New Brutalism," *Architectural Design* (April 1957): 113.

[12] *Perspecta* 4 (1957): 2-3.

[13] Gianfranco Pasquino, "Political Development," in *Italy since 1945*, edited by Patrick McCarthy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 69-94.

[14] Leonardo Benevolo, *History of Modern Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1977), I: 566. See also Alessandro Muntoni, *Lo studio Paniconi e Pediconi: 1930-1984* (Rome: Kappa, 1987).

[15] See Muntoni, *Lo studio*, 40-58.

[16] Gustavo Giovannoni was a leading architect, architectural historian, and educator in Rome, famous in part for his objection to the redevelopment of the Spina del Borgo quarter under Mussolini that resulted in the Via della Consolazione. See Gustavo Giovannoni, *Vecchie città ed edilizia nuova*, 2nd edition, edited by Francesco Ventura (Milano: Città Studi Edizioni, 1995); Gustavo Giovannoni, *Architetture di pensiero e pensieri sull'architettura* (Roma: Apollon, 1945).

[17] The letter is reprinted in Muntoni, *Lo studio*, 170-71.

[18] "Nota," dated 12 March 1962, 1. ACS, Paniconi e Pediconi Archive, Box 60.

[19] Ibid, 2. See also P. Pasquale de Fusco, OFM, "La nuova chiesa parrocchiale di S. Gregorio VII; supplemento del bollettino parrocchiale 'fratelli in cammino'" (n. d.), ACS, Paniconi e Pediconi Archive, Box 60.

[20] "Stile di Paniconi e Pediconi," reprinted in Muntoni, *Lo studio*, 170. This stance clearly recalls Argan's critique of the false choice between technocracy and humanism.

[21] Ibid.

[22] "Possibilità dell'architettura moderna nell'arte sacra," *Fede e arte* 3, no. 7 (1955): 205-07. Pediconi, "La chiesa 'macchina' per pregare?..." *Fede e arte* 4, no. 1 (1956): 22-24.

[23] The artisan was Pericle Fazzini. See "Nota," dated 12 March 1962, 2. ACS, Paniconi e Pediconi Archive, Box 60. Other artisans included: Leonardo Venturini (bas relief front of portico--Franciscan themes); Nicola Rubino (bronze group at baptismal

font); Luigi Montanarini (fresco at sides of altar, depicting seven sacraments); Alfio Castelli (bronze eagle on ambone), Adriano Alessandrini (marble panel at altar in crypt; after panel design by Paniconi and Pediconi and on Francis' life). See Muntoni, *Lo studio*, 149.

[24] The quality, range, and number of large-scale detail sheets in the extant construction documents in the Paniconi and Pediconi Archive at the ACS further reinforces this general sense. While I have not quantified this with respect to what would be expected as a professional standard of practice for comparable commissions at the time, the clear impression is one in which great care and consideration is given to the most minute details, all of which are drawn up with precision and signs of further deliberation (e.g., mark-ups, handwritten notes and sketches) throughout the construction process.

[25] See Peter Hebblethwaite and Margaret Hebblethwaite, *John XXIII: Pope of the Century* (New York: Continuum, 2000), 149-50.

[26] *Boni Pastoris* (February 22, 1959), available online at: http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_xxiii/motu_proprio/documents/hf_j-xxiii_motu-proprio_22021959_boni-pastoris_en.html..

[27] "Nuova chiesa parrocchiale in via Gregorio VII, Roma: Relazione," n. d., ACS, Paniconi e Pediconi Archive, Box 60.

[28] M. dell'Arco observes the four kinds of light in the church: colored, filtered light from the stained glass at the lower level, more direct light (because higher up, and because the glass is set at the outer perimeter of the wall) from the upper level stained glass, direct light in the upper reaches from the roof gable fronts, and artificial light from the prismatic light fixtures; see "La Chiesa di San Gregorio VII dell'Ordine dei Frati Minori Francescani." *Costruire* (October-December 1962): 25-41.

[29] "La chiesa 'macchina'," 24.

[30] Pediconi, "La chiesa 'macchina'," *Fede e arte* 4, no. 1 (1956): 22.

[31] Ibid., 23.

[32] Ibid., 23-24.

[33] Ibid., 24.

[34] *Art and Scholasticism with Other Essays* (n.p.: FQ Classics, 2007), 60.

Chapter 4

Back to the Sources:

S. Policarpo (1960-67)

The parish church of S. Policarpo, by the Roman architect Giuseppe Nicolosi (1901-81), is an exemplar of mediation as retrieval or *ressourcement*. (Figs. 4.1, 4.2, 4.3). It is similar to S. Gregorio VII as its negotiation between history and modernity is one that rests upon a deep sense of the relevance of tradition. But in contrast to the updating model, mediation as retrieval functions on the notion that a break has indeed occurred in the otherwise usual continuity of history and that, therefore, renewing a living tradition requires reaching back beyond the recent past to retrieve and reconfigure a more distant model. Thus, while critical of much of the received, canonical version of modernism in architecture, it nonetheless is more emphatic about needing to go back to the basics than is the case with the updating model, in part in order to distinguish itself from nineteenth-century historicism. Indeed, Nicolosi distinguishes between varieties of historicism; the sort he advocates is one that emphasizes seriousness and gravity, following from an essential connection between aesthetic and spiritual values and the orders to which they give rise.[1]

In Italy as elsewhere, the decade of the 1960s were marked more by change and rupture than by any development or straightforward continuation of already ongoing processes. The first center-left coalition government was formed in 1962 under Amintore Fanfani (1908-1999), the DC actually lost (though remained the largest single party) the April 1963 election, PCI leader Togliatti died in August 1964 and was mourned broadly, Florence flooded in 1966, university students began protesting widely for educational reform and against the Vietnam War in 1967 (which of course played into the protests throughout Europe and abroad the following year), and divorce became legal in December 1969. The electrical industry had been nationalized in November 1962, yet the "economic miracle" of the late 1950s began to subside by 1963 amid growing international competition, giving rise to strikes, wage increases, and inflation. The aggregate economic impact was relatively minimal over the short run, but increasing discontent and struggle over the distribution of the gains made by the more steadily prosperous years culminated in the "Hot Autumn" of 1969 and intense trade union disputes. By May 1970, legislators passed a new workers' statute, the "Statuto del Lavoro," which was followed by pension reform and, by 1978, a nationalized health care system.[2]

And in the world of architectural theory and discourse, increasing controversy over reforming modernism amidst the broader political and cultural changes provoked altogether new approaches, perhaps best exemplified in the appearance, all in 1966, of the protest architecture of Superstudio and Archizoom, as well as two

publications regularly described as provoking the move into postmodernism: *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture*, by Robert Venturi (1925-), and *L'architettura della Città*, by Aldo Rossi (1931-97).[3]

But in the midst of this decade of transition and upheaval, the more immediate context most pertinent to the church under study are the events of the Second Vatican Council (11 October to 8 December 1965). While S. Policarpo (1960-67) was not in the virtual backyard of the Vatican as was S. Gregorio VII, both the architect and the parish were active in the political and cultural life of the institutional Church. Furthermore, at the beginning of 1962, in the fall of which the Council later opened, Nicolosi published an article in the primary journal on art and religion put out by the Pontifical Commission on Sacred Art, *Fede e arte*, reflecting on the genius of the beauty of Michelangelo's dome at St. Peter's, under which the Council fathers would soon be meeting.[4] More specifically, the nature of the change that occurred at the Council and the process through which it was pursued and achieved, appears also to have been involved in Nicolosi's design of the church.

Much has been written on the Second Vatican Council, and much has been made of the theme of *aggiornamento* ("updating") to describe the impetus for change. However, as John W. O'Malley has recently shown, there were really three strands of discourse that were prominent during the proceedings of the Council: *aggiornamento*, "development," and *ressourcement*. Through careful attention to the arguments surrounding the various documents proposed, debated, and promulgated over the

course of the Council, O'Malley sees the first two themes above as being most often appealed to in public because they were less threatening insofar as they described changed in more or less gradual, incremental manners. If *aggiornamento* was about updating an already current policy or practice so that it was more relevant to the present situation, "development" took a similar tack by building upon currently existing structures to extend or improve them, but always generally in a linear manner consistent with what was already the case. The former is similar to the updating that characterized the mode of mediation in the architecture of S. Gregorio VII, and the latter stems directly from the notion of doctrinal development articulated in the nineteenth century by John Henry Newman (1811-1890).

But *ressourcement* was different. In O'Malley's words: "Of the three categories, *ressourcement* was the most traditional yet potentially the most radical. It was also the most pervasive at the council."[5] Two points from O'Malley's analysis will suffice here to indicate both the nature of *ressourcement* as it was employed during the Council and its relevance for an analysis of S. Policarco in terms of mediation.

First is the way in which it was both traditional and radical: *ressourcement* is usually translated with the phrase "back to the sources," suggesting an attitude of skepticism towards the present because of what it considers to have been lost in the ongoing development of tradition. That is, it posits a break in history to reach back and retrieve something that had become obscured but is in fact more authentic for being original, which in turn is brought forward to provide content for contemporary

reform. Thus, it is traditional in its appeal to the past yet radical in its potential for disrupting current trajectories.

Also, *ressourcement* so permeated the work of the Second Vatican Council that it most likely was known by Nicolosi. Part of this is simply the fact that it actually marked so many specific reforms, the news of which were the subject of much media exposure, especially in Rome. While O'Malley makes the point that some similar attitude had in fact been behind many reforms in previous centuries as well, many of which were conservative (such as the recuperation of Gregorian chant under the Prosper Guéranger at Solemnes monastery during the nineteenth century), there is something distinctive about the way in which the varied and substantial reforms of Vatican II so frequently took this approach. It definitively grounded the liturgical reform embodied in the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, by appealing to the common participation of the people in the liturgy, relative authority given to the Bishops, and adaptation to local circumstances, all of which by pointing to the practice of the early church.[6] The Decree on Ecumenism, *Unitatis Redintegratio*, sought specifically to "restore" Christian unity and so to reach back past the Reformation and its divisions, appealing to an earlier and original state of union.[7] The Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation, *Dei Verbum*, explicitly sought to retrieve the attitudes concerning the relation between Scripture and Tradition that prevailed prior to the sixteenth century, including pastoral and personal freedoms regarding such.[8] And finally, the Declaration on Religious

Freedom, *Dignitatis Humanae*, proclaimed the inviolable dignity of the human being by appealing to the very old idea in the Church that acts of faith had to be freely chosen, as well as to the ancient and Biblical idea of humanity being created in the image of God and thereby possessing an inalienable dignity.[9]

The *ressourcement* stance towards history and modernity was also prominent due to its association with the *Nouvelle théologie* theologians who had been censured, censored, barred from teaching, and otherwise resisted rather consistently during the first half of the twentieth century—only to be manifestly and quite publicly rehabilitated with the death of Pius XII and the advent of John XXIII's papacy. These very theologians, including Yves Congar, Henri de Lubac, Joseph Ratzinger, and Karl Rahner, became rather the central figures among the majority that helped to articulate and effect the changes that occurred. Above and beyond the specific uses of *ressourcement* mentioned above (and O'Malley details others), the broadest change was also something manifest in the very workings of the Council: the reclamation of collegiality. The critique was that over the centuries papal primacy had in fact developed but that collegiality, which typified much of the practice of the early Church as well as the Church Fathers, had waned. Therefore, its retrieval would be a restoration of an original balance between the authority at the center and throughout the periphery of the Church. The language of the documents reflected this shift, modeled as they were on pastoral and even conversational modes present in the Patristic literature, an emphasis urged early on by Joseph Ratzinger that

sought to move back beyond the neo-scholastic textbook formulae in favor of a pastoral and spiritual style that respected human dignity throughout.[10]

S. Policarpo is an exemplar of mediation as retrieval. This strategy bears a strong resemblance to not only the *ressourcement* governing the change effected at the Council, but also certain strands of both the early stages of architectural modernism and the liturgical movement: both sought reform in part by reaching back to more or less remote forms and ideas as evident in a widespread affinity for primitivism, whether it be found in the liturgical practice of the early church or in the perennial question of architecture's tectonic origins. And if the chief backdrop for this chapter is the process of change at work in the Council, a natural further consideration would be the eventual interpretation of the Council's reform, and especially of its first promulgated document, *Sacrosanctum Concilium*. However, this subject will be taken up explicitly in the following chapter as the architecture under study there, Luigi Moretti's Sancta Maria Mater Ecclesiae (1970), was designed precisely to celebrate the achievement of the Vatican II and so will naturally bring that to the fore.

As before, there are expressions of this mode of mediation that are discernible through a formal-typological analysis that need not rely on specific theology-laden concepts for their explication. Yet when considered phenomenologically and with an eye towards the liturgically-oriented experience of

the church, S. Policarpo also reveals something relevant for the formation of theological identity. The dual analysis will again reveal a subtlety and complexity otherwise easily obscured, especially with regard to the central interpretive concepts at issue in the second reading (sacred/holy, *domus dei*/*domus ecclesiae*, the Body of Christ as root metaphor) and as yielding a sense of the form of ornament that enables this mediation as retrieval.

Background

Giuseppe Nicolosi was born in Rome in 1901. He attended the Regia Scola di Ingegneria where he earned a civil engineering degree, graduating with high honors in 1924. The very next year he began teaching in an architectural setting, first as an assistant to Gustavo Giovannoni and then, in 1927, as assistant to Arnaldo Foschini, in the Faculty of Architecture. He continued to teach in one way or another for most of his professional life, including urbanism and architectural composition in Bologna during the late 1930s-40s, returning to his alma mater in 1951 and directing the Istituto di Architettura ed Urbanistica. He taught architecture there and, during the early 1960s, architectural history.

His architectural practice was characterized by a careful use of materials, attention to tectonic expression, and an emphasis upon the centrality of the spatial qualities of architecture. Regarding more abstract qualities, however, much of his work can be characterized by a tension between a permanence derived from a

distinctly mural building tradition and a variability found in formal expressions of innovation and originality.[11] His practice flourished especially after the war: he completed fourteen large projects between 1925 and 1942, but ninety-four between 1945 to 1975.[12]

His teaching emphasized the continued relevance of the Vitruvian triad: *firmitas*, *utilitas*, and *venustas*. Conceptually and as reflected in his built work, *firmitas* was a wholly concrete matter, and this was a major point of contrast between Nicolosi and the rationalists, as the latter were for him entirely too abstract and general. Furthermore, history and modernity were not fundamentally opposed, for he felt himself to be tied to history as well as fully modern throughout his practice, this prevailing dichotomy notwithstanding.[13] Out of this question concerning history and modernity came one of his distinctive contributions to modern architectural discourse, the 1938 essay, "Storicismo e antistoricismo in architettura." Intellectually, his position there was influenced by Benedetto Croce, especially with regard to varieties of historicism and anti-historicism. He took from Croce the two-fold critique of anti-historicism: not only did it sever itself from a historical sense arguably constitutive of human being and culture but it also was blind towards the future in its dogmatic focus on the present.[14] This he applied to architecture: what had been received initially as a welcome liberation from superficial uses of historical forms that had encumbered nineteenth-century practice, had become with the rationalists and other canonical modernists a rigid requirement to be modern that

had abandoned the spiritual and aesthetic values at the root of construction. Such a loss extended beyond art and architecture into all of human culture and therefore constituted a real crisis of meaning.[15]

But it was likewise not sufficient merely to claim the mantle of historicism, for there too careful distinctions were required. He returned several times in the essay to the notion of a spiritual/aesthetic order as having been obscured. This occurred in anti-historicism certainly, most obviously for Nicolosi in the singular and unreflective use of the concrete frame with the result that matters of meaning and its expression became divorced from architecture.[16] But this was also a danger for historicism, and not only through the academically oriented practitioners more or less recycling historic form without regard to the modern context.[17]

In Italy, the widespread approach of the moderates during the Fascist years, especially the *novecento* group in Milan and the *Scuola Romana* group in Rome, featured a return to classicism and to order (against the recently failed experiments of Futurism and the *Stile Floreale)* in a stripped down fashion that embodied a straightforward and unassuming, even modest, modernism. Yet still here, the animating spirit of tradition had been lost, for classicism was rooted, on Nicolosi's reading, in an "exclusively spiritual order" and in a "monumental sense."[18] Therefore, the only way forward was to pursue a "new spirituality" characterized by continuity and evolution and grounded in architecture's "institutional values," values that were elevated and truly representative. This would best be achieved through design that

follows a new rule to accord with the new spirituality: function and construction would be reconciled according to historical models in tandem with the actually present historical context. The explicit inclusion of historical context would guard against mere repetition of historical models, as the present context, historically considered, was undoubtedly new.[19] For Nicolosi, this architecture would tend to take the form of explicitly new uses of materials and formally innovative compositions that nonetheless invoked antique, even primitive models along with ideal, primordial geometries. Such a difficult synthesis has been described as putting the diversity of modernity in dialogue with the diversity of antiquity.[20] Given the theological history most pertinent to the questions at issue in this research, of course, it could also be described as an architectural form of *ressourcement*.

In the postwar years Nicolosi was active in the Catholic lay association Civiltà Italica from its founding in 1947.[21] Related to the earlier and more widespread Catholic Action, both of which sought to advance Catholic culture and religious values through lay leadership and outside of established political parties, Civiltà Italica was especially directed towards resisting communism. Catholic Action had been encouraged by the Vatican as a sort of corrective to the success of the Popular Party (PPI, founded 1919), which had widespread Catholic support but was ultimately not under the Church's control. This was especially important in light of the Church's problematic history with Fascism, particularly the "Roman question" and the compromise with Mussolini embodied in the 1929 Lateran Accords, which

ensured the Vatican's political and territorial autonomy. The PPI drew support across the political spectrum and were strong among the working class. Thus, Catholic Action groups sought to appeal to the same working class but as a bulwark against both socialism and communism and as an evangelical initiative designed to spur greater incorporation into the Church. Indicative of the lay emphasis, clergy were sponsors and certainly involved in the work but were typically not allowed as members; such was also the case with Civiltà Italica.

The parish of S. Policarpo was a locus for Catholic Action in southern Rome during the postwar years.[22] Established in September 1960 but in need of a church building, the congregation initially met in a local storefront and then, after 1961, in a nearby garage. The land for the eventual church was made available through the agency of the Salesian Institute in 1960—S. Giovanni Bosco is just less than two-thirds of a mile to the northeast—and the construction of the church was financed through state contributions regulated according to an April 1962 law supporting the works of pastoral ministry.[23] The first stone was placed on 25 October 1964 and the church was consecrated on 15 July 1967. In addition to Nicolosi and the local clergy and congregation, among those in attendance were the Secretary of the Pontifical Commission for the Preservation of the Faith and the Provision of New Churches, the Rector of the Collegio Capranica, various representatives from the Vicariate, a representative from the Mayor's office, the president of Catholic Action, and Marchese Gerini.[24]

Before considering Nicolosi's design for the church in terms of the proposed interpretive framework, it is worth recalling that his touchstone in the essay on historicism and anti-historicism was the waning of the spiritual/aesthetic order in architecture. He indeed conflates the two, the spiritual and the aesthetic, throughout the essay. But, construing religious and theological identity as coextensive with such spirituality may just be a reductive view derived from modernity's critique of religion. And certainly, the problem of ornament and beauty for Harries and von Balthasar is largely the communicative crisis resulting from the reduction of art to aesthetics over the course of modernity and culminating in the Enlightenment and the correlative waning of art from theology.

While this is undoubtedly a problem in the context of distinguishing between formal-typological matters and those that are theology-laden, Nicolosi must nevertheless be taken on his own terms. Therefore, the dual analysis below will attempt to parse these factors without misconstruing his ideas. Nevertheless, an alternative reading of conflating the spiritual and the aesthetic is possible: if "aesthetics" is not understood according to the Kantian construct but rather as a shorthand term for art and its relation to the human being, then the very point of the conflation may be the resistance to the sort of reduction Kant pursued. In any event, the question, what is art's relation to religion?, is surely involved here, and while the following analyses will seek to address Nicolosi's work through a mode of mediation as retrieval, and therefore as an important case of a transitional, hybrid

design reflective of its context, the possible conflation of art and spirit remains at issue. How, then, does the architecture of S. Policarpo embody mediation as retrieval?

Formal-Typological Analysis

The church is a rather compact composition, with a hexagonal plan at its core but featuring simple extensions in front and back so as to form a lozenge-shaped mass (Figs. 4.1 and 4.2). The extension in the front is kept low as an entry porch, the hexagonal interior geometry rising up as the centralized mass of the church beyond. The building is clad mostly in brick coursework, regularly and consistently laid, but with some edges of a reinforced concrete frame visible on the exterior, mainly along the tops of walls. It is sited on the axis and at the end of a street running perpendicular to Via Tuscolana, directly to the southwest and roughly at an equal distance from Via Tuscolana as is S. Giovanni Bosco to the northeast (Fig. 4.3). The building site also backs up to a Roman aqueduct and so is decidedly on the edge of whatever development would occur in the area.

Given the prominence in the region of the earlier church and the relative size of the parish of S. Policarpo, it is not a surprise that Nicolosi was cognizant of the nearby presence of Rapisardi's church, as indeed his marks on the working vicinity plan indicate (Fig. 4.3). In the notes preserved in his archives, Nicolosi argued for the appropriateness of a centralized plan for S. Policarpo based precisely on the

consideration of its relative size amidst the urban axial relation it would have to S. Giovanni Bosco. The idea was that, for a church of any given size, a centralized plan would maximize the exterior mass it could present to the world, and so stand a better chance of holding its own, so to speak, in relation to larger buildings and urban patterns.[25] Furthermore, Nicolosi took the time to study the proportions of S. Giovanni Bosco, as is also preserved in drawing form in the project files (Fig. 4.4). While the plan organization of the two churches are not similar and the forms employed by each do not readily compare, the two are roughly comparable regarding proportion if one excludes the base of the Rapisardi church from consideration. It is as if Nicolosi were taking the most visible portion from the larger church (the drum, dome, and lantern) and remaking it here according to his conception and in a scale that fits S. Policarpo's parish needs and immediate environs (Fig. 4.5).

Nicolosi also marked on the vicinity plan the nearby presence of a church much smaller than S. Giovanni Bosco, but one that, aside from its mere vicinity, may have been important for its tent-like sense of enclosure: the Assunzione di Maria parish church, by Saverio Muratori, had been built in 1954. It is similarly lozenge-shaped and features a centralized plan, as well as an interior capped by a low-lying shallow concrete dome intersected by multiple vaults to exterior windows, resulting in a complex, shell-like, draped sort of ceiling. While S. Giovanni Bosco is indeed the last dome in Rome, Muratori's church can be read as a dome that is not allowed to rise up into the sky but is rather suppressed and enclosed by a restrictive box. It is as

if the dome, having become untenable for a modern church in Rome, could appear only in a decidedly domesticated or otherwise circumscribed manner.[26]

Aside from these hints, and despite the plan organization and the long history of centralized churches, the façade of S. Policarpo provides no discernible reference to historical models. The front sits back from the street and one enters at ground level through gently canted wing walls supporting a slightly pitched roof. Inside, a single vertical stained glass window marks the presence of the altar opposite the entry, occupying the blunt end of the elongated interior (Fig. 4.6). Regarding the matter of hierarchy and the standard types of ecclesiastical plan forms, the interior is difficult to read, with no such clear order. The piers are the clearest ordering devices and they do not imply any direction but the vertical, nor any particular subordination. The sanctuary is elevated, but without special emphasis beyond the shift in level and the presence of the tall and narrow strip window of stained glass behind (Fig. 4.7).

There is, of course, a long history of centrally planned churches and other related building types, including martyria and baptisteries. Francesco Borromini's S. Ivo alla Sapienza (1642-50) in Rome and Guarino Guarini's Santa Sindone (1667-90) in Turin are only two obvious examples among Baroque churches. Yet no clear correspondence is evident even inside between such precedents, in part because the plan does not in fact translate or correspond directly to the structure above. Six large untapered polygonal piers support massive deep beams that hold aloft the faceted

and complex roof (Fig. 4.8). Yet, there is no visible relation between these vertical supports and the walls that lie just beyond. Where they do physically connect, it is as if it were an afterthought, mere extensions behind the piers that touch the walls only at their corners.

Indeed, the walls are richly textured by turned brickwork, but ascend in a homogenous manner straight to some terminus line that appears mostly arbitrary in relation to the rest of the building. The sheer undifferentiated quality of the walls in their aggregate form results in an enclosure that emphasizes the unity of the space. But the structural system and the enclosing walls appear to exist more in parallel than in concert; this is especially evident in the manner in which the concrete roof dips down into the gap made by the two extended side walls and filled with the stained glass above the altar. The relatively tentative and indeterminate meeting of glass, concrete, and brick give to the ensemble a slightly tent-like feeling, as if the entire superstructure were wholly on its own and the roof-to-wall relation is therefore coincidental and, in a sense, temporary. Marks of hierarchy that would tie the two systems together are virtually nowhere to be found. Indeed, the only real mark of hierarchy is vertical: the roof forms allow light to enter in unexpected ways, from vertical slits of light that complement and augment the horizontal zone of fenestration that illuminates the meeting of walls and roof all around, forming a complex and subtle lighting that unexpectedly gives the upper regions a relatively greater prominence.

But still, it is as if there are two systems of order here: the outer one of enclosure and the inner one of support and covering. Considered this way, the enclosing order is remarkably casual and hardly suggests a settled geometry, while the inner (and especially upper) order is alive with permutations of hexagonal geometry. And they almost slip by one another: perhaps this is a gesture of a tenuous relation to place as a form of modesty? After all, the body of Policarp, the martyred saint, was burned and so did not find a resting place with its attendant honorific embellishment.

Aside from such speculation, there is evidence that Nicolosi worked from the beginning on the assumption that a fully centralized plan was the ideal solution, as in the many sketches he made that kept the idea intact even when augmented by other forms, and not merely because it afforded a greater presence to the façade (Figs. 4.9 and 4.10). In fact, he initially proposed an interior liturgical arrangement with an altar in the center of the church and requested permission for the arrangement from the ecclesiastical authorities, arguing on the basis of maximizing visibility and minimizing distance for the parishioners and appealing to the Conciliar principle of greater union among the congregation and the celebrant during the mass.[27] He failed to gain approval for this, however, mainly due to the same principle—that the celebrant would then not be facing everyone at the same time and would instead have his back to some of the congregation at all times. Nicolosi abandoned the idea and, while he included the initial proposal and its rejection in later narratives he also

consistently described the origins of the design of the church to be the matter of maximizing the public, external mass of the building.[28] Nevertheless, the answer to the question of identity being put forth in this work is clearly an appeal to an ideal geometry and to an indeterminate but plausibly ancient form language, as a means by which to mediate between the varieties of historicism and anti-historicism. Once again, this fits quite well with the recently so successful strategy of the *ressourcement* theologians and church reformers, though here expressed in concrete architectural terms through a geometric form of ornament that enables a mediation of retrieval.

Finally, also revealed in the archived notes written by Nicolosi are some clues as so how to interpret the interplay between the two systems, the wall enclosure and the pier-roof support and covering. In two items definitively dated to after he had abandoned the central position for the altar, though still referring to the need to maximize the external mass for such a small church, he also wrote of deferring to "the principle of the hexagonal organism," as if the idea of the hexagon, of the geometrical form itself, needed to be respected and allowed an integral life of its own.[29] This would mitigate against any notion of a compromise or even a synthesis between the regularly centralizing geometry and another, longitudinal one. And earlier he wrote of the "unforeseen" and "surprising" qualities of any good architecture, that they testify to "a courage that at times is identified with recklessness," but also that they need not be a matter of vanity or caprice, but rather

a sign of "a profound ferment" directed towards the need to achieve both "full historical reality and originality."[30]

Furthermore, he also clarifies in one undated note that the building is in fact designed with two structural systems, functioning independently of one another: an internal one of reinforced concrete that supports the roof, and an external one of brick walls (with no reinforced concrete, he notes) that is self-supporting and autonomous.[31] The idea seems to have been precisely that of two parallel systems, not joined elegantly or dramatically but, for the most part, simply coexisting. The result is a subtle and rich interior space, which is marked from above with a clear geometry but is also bounded by a somewhat different enclosure. The manner in which the two systems do meet certainly eschews drama: glass is present between the top of the walls and the roof but not of such an expanse that it calls attention to itself (Fig. 4.11). The form of ornament at work here does not seem to be one of careful delineations of pattern through materials in their deployment or detailed joint articulation, as was the case with S. Gregorio VII. Rather, S. Policarpo's ornament operates through the geometry itself.

Phenomenological-Theological Analysis

Turning now to theology-laden concepts and a reconsideration of S. Policarpo according to a sequence of approach, entry, movement within, and exit, perhaps the first thing to note is indeed what Nicolosi had been intent to convey: the church is

quite small when compared to nearby S. Giovanni Bosco (a bit more than two-fifths the floor area), but nonetheless appears solid and substantial at the end of the street (Fig. 4.12).[32] As one arrives at the church, the planning and massing towards maximizing the front façade presents a rather mundane entry at the level of the pedestrian, for one moves into the church underneath a porch that appears to be mainly a simple extension of some internal logic of the building rather than any emphatic gesture of beckoning or ordering (Fig. 4.13). The first impression upon approach, as well as the overriding sense of the design from the formal-typological analysis, is closely aligned with a *domus ecclesiae* model of the church insofar as unity, simplicity, and modesty—even straightforward practicality, as in the plan-massing calculus—do not so much demarcate a hierarchically ordered place of special, sacred status, as much as allow for and enable the simple gathering of people for a collective purpose.

And yet, the full picture is more subtle and nuanced. Upon entering the church, one is greeted by a curious and unexpected spatial elongation towards the altar that vies for attention with the rising walls and the surprising geometric dynamism of the roof structure (Fig. 4.14). That is, for all the ambiguity noticed earlier when considering the dual systems of structure and enclosure, the effect upon entering is indeed one of palpable surprise: the exterior massing betrays nothing of the intricacy of the structural system of piers and roof, and little of the spatial elongation. Furthermore, the small size of the church is now evident; it suddenly

feels intimate, despite the concrete forms overhead and in contrast to the public face it presented outside.

As one begins to move through the space and especially as one becomes oriented to possible focal points, the initial impression is more or less a draw among various candidates: the vertical stained glass window above the altar is surely a strong point of contrast, yet so are the disparate vertical swaths of light above, coming from the corners of the little walls atop the deep beams of the roof structure. And the formal and spatial contrasts among walls and piers and roof vie for attention in their own way. Nevertheless, as the horizontal spatial elongation gently encourages the eye towards the altar end, the focus is held there by a subtle mark of the sacred that immediately also gestures to the holy: the tabernacle sits aglow within a portion of "wall" that possesses its own unique status in the ontology of the architecture (Fig. 4.15). That is, the wall holding the tabernacle cants in from the zone of the vertical stained glass window, which is a zone otherwise defined merely as a gap between two walls. This is the logic of the fenestration and of the walls' organization throughout the church: walls simply bend their full length into the next wall, or stop completely and leave a gap between walls. But this portion of wall has its own being, and rightly so, as it houses the tabernacle. Thus a subtle gesture is strengthened by its logical variance, arguably a more enduring strategy than mere visual contrast, elevation in height, or enlargement in scale.

Of course, the eye must go to the roof structure fairly soon in such a space, and when it does, it follows the polygonal piers that support the massive deep beams that in turn hold another surprise: an unmistakable Star of David appears amidst the various planes and lines (Figs. 4.16 and 4.17). While it is large enough that one must really be looking almost directly straight up to see it all, once it is seen it is known to be there and, as such, it floats above the assembled community, as a gesture tying it to the Hebraic prehistory of the Christian church. It is likely much more than that, of course, though I have found no direct evidence of Nicolosi's intentions regarding specific references to Jewish identity here. Nevertheless, the history of the Jews in Rome is filled with horrific abuses and oppression, the memory of which could only have been heightened with the revelations of the Holocaust. The Second Vatican Council itself was marked by efforts to re-conceive Catholic Christianity's relation to Judaism, including Pope Paul VI's 1964 trip to the Holy Land in a (mostly unsuccessful) attempt to address anti-Semitism without alienating Arab Christians. Also important is the work within the Council resulting in the promulgation on 28 October 1965 of the Declaration on Non-Christian Religions, *Nostra Aetate*, which is another clear example of *ressourcement* in that it appeals to Biblical evidence directly from the Apostle Paul to reframe its official view of the Jews:

> The Church, therefore, cannot forget that she received the revelation of the Old Testament through the people with whom God in His inexpressible mercy concluded the Ancient Covenant. Nor can she forget that she draws sustenance from the root of that well-cultivated olive tree onto which have been grafted the wild shoots, the Gentiles. Indeed, the Church believes that

> by His cross Christ, Our Peace, reconciled Jews and Gentiles, making both one in Himself.[33]

This is a remarkable contrast with the kidnapping of a Jewish child because of a presumed secret baptism.[34] Whatever the intentions of the architect, the hexagon (and the multitude of its connotations) could also be read to arise organically from the hexagram of the Jews. It is also worth noting that in 1960 *Fede e arte* published a lengthy article by architect Giuseppe Zander on churches of centralized plan organization and their iconography, in which the hexagonal variety was treated but no mention was made of the geometrical relation of the hexagon to the hexagram.[35] Be all of that as it may, the interlaced equilateral triangles that compose the hexagram are also pure geometries themselves, so even without the religious connotation the ideal form itself serves to mark the space below in a distinctive manner.

In fact, though the richly textured but largely homogenous brick walls do indeed unify the space, their sheer solidity and the minimal fenestration can also induce a sense of being sealed off from the world, as in a temenos or *domus dei*. This is only heightened through the presence of ideal geometries and/or ancient religious signs held solidly overhead as a stamp upon those gathered below. Furthermore, the careful interplay between *domus dei* and *domus ecclesiae* models, the duality of the systems of enclosure and structure, the quality of the space that is thereby created: these are all determined not merely by the overall form and arrangement of the elements, but also by the patterns and textures made by the treatment of materials.

Nicolosi's approach here, however, is less a matter of carefully detailed and discreet junctures, profiles, or assemblages, than it is one of managing the changes in texture and the resulting patterns (Figs. 4.18). Therefore, despite the similarity with S. Gregorio VII in the prevalence of rich material texture, Nicolosi's church manifests a geometric form of ornament rather than the tectonic form most evident in the earlier church. In S. Policarpo, such mediation occurs between not only the human being and the comprehension of the space (as unified but hierarchically ordered, as a *domus ecclesiae* with *domus dei* provocations), but also between the two parallel systems so as to achieve a difficult and ambiguous unity.

Its intermediary mode is retrieval because it reaches back to ancient if not primordial references and models, and brings them to bear on the present historical context, thereby bridging tradition and modernity in a manner that aims at a unified conception of space and form that nonetheless incorporates otherwise disparate and conflicting trajectories. The piers and superstructure do stand wholly parallel to the enclosing walls, but together they still somehow form a unified spacial experience that prods the human inhabitant to the contemplation, both of subtleties and of grand aims. And as one turns to leave the space, the inner face of the street front presents an unexpected upper expanse of glass, again re-connecting the community with the world beyond, as in S. Gregorio VII (Fig. 4.19).

Regarding the beautiful as the form of liturgical experience of divine glory, the mediation therein should appear, or at least be discoverable, as a sacramental

mediation: the form should disclose something of the grace and gift that it also enacts (Fig. 4.20). Nicolosi's careful treatment of materials and of constructive methods appear to do just this, insofar as the material is pure gift even as it is formed and remade into something new, that in turn marks this gift. Something of this attitude is evident in the care given to the design of the cross to top the church, especially considering how little of the structure would ever be seen close enough to be appreciated (Figs. 4.21 and 4.22). Beyond any simple equation of design and constructive care with theological value, however, as presumably one could assert about most any well-considered and well-made church, the chief import here pertaining to a liturgical experience open to divine glory as somehow present in the beauty of the architecture—mediated through the geometry that is its ornament—is the retrieval of the deep history of the Church in such a way that a small parish on the edge of Rome can enclose its parishioners in the most local and grounded way, even as it evokes a far broader and open gesture. As such, and as with each church in this study, it is a hybrid experience, suitable to its time.

Comparanda

Mediation as retrieval appears in three variants among the churches under study in this research. In the first instance, an approach rather similar to that of Nicolosi is found in Paolo Rebecchini's S. Ambrogio (1973), another small church that more precisely recalls ancient centralized building traditions, even while the ceiling is

utterly new in yet an unassuming and unobtrusive way (Fig. 4.23 and 4.24). Similarly drawing upon ideal geometries is Nostra Signora de la Salette, by Ennio Canino and Vivinia Rizzi (Figs. 4.25 and 4.26). Here, however, the emphasis appears to be placed clearly upon the drama of the reinforced concrete heroics and the chiarosucro effects that can result from the juxtaposition of such elements against voids and folded plates. While such discrete contrasts and the attendant drama are likely still anathema to Nicolosi, they could fit well enough into a genuine retrieval that mediates between history and modernity. A more clearly historicist approach is evident in Guiseppe Zander's S. Leone Magno (1950), which references models from the more distant past, in this case early Christian basilican architecture, and translates them largely unaltered into the present context. And yet, how is this not merely a rejection of modernity? At the very least this presents a limit case, as it were, to the matter of *ressourcement* in that it provokes the question of how to construe modern (or post-modern) identity in the midst of such retrieval.[36]

Conclusion

Giuseppe Nicolosi's S. Policarpo presents a form of mediation with superficial affinity to that of updating, but the notion of retrieval is distinguished by the strategy of reaching further back, or further afield, in order to ground the mediation in something other than the contingent flow of history, however idealized and typified. Geometry in some form or another is a common candidate, and it can also connote

certain building typologies that lend significance to the matter of identity being pursued. In the case of S. Policarpo, the geometry itself provided the form of ornament that enabled this mediation. The distinction between structure and enclosure—a modernist idiom *par excellence*—is put to use not in order to proclaim an aesthetically expressed modern identity but rather, with much more subtlety and, in my view, durability, in order to posit a unified space that yet fairly fluctuates with conflicting resonances, from *domus dei* / *domus ecclesiae*, to central / longitudinal, to historical / modern. Furthermore, the fully abstract forms of geometry are those that nevertheless conjure up the most concrete associations (hexagram and hexagon). Thus, the church is an image of the Church as the locus of experience of the divine reality that is at one and the same time complete and utter transcendence as well as intimate, incarnate, immanence.

Chapter 4 notes

[1] See especially his important essay from 1938, "Storicismo e antistoricismo in architettura," reprinted in *Rassegna di architettura e urbanistica* 36, nos. 106-108 (2002): 238-45. Original publication, Roma: Edizioni "Augustea," 1938.

[2] Vera Zamagni, "Evolution of the Economy," in *Italy since 1945*, edited by Patrick McCarthy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 50.

[3] Robert Venturi, *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1966); Aldo Rossi, *L'architettura della città* (Padova: Marsilio, 1966).

[4] "Meditazioni sulla Cupola di San Pietro in Vaticano." *Fede e arte* 11, nos. 1-3 (1963): 8-21. The occasion seems to be in part the impending 400-year anniversary of Michelangelo's death (1964) and the essay was accompanied by several striking photographs of the dome by Carmine Recchia. The opening sentence is worth citing here to indicate something of the tone of the piece: "Questo Colle Vaticano, irrorato dal sangue dei Martiri, presto divenuto faro di divina luce non solamente per i Cattolici ma per il mondo intero, custodisce gelosamente orme indelebili dell'umano genio, opere che sono evidente, palese dimostrazione che l'Uomo, fatto ad immagine e somiglianza del Creatore, è a sua volta creatore, degno cioè di vittorie dello spirito sulla materia."

[5] *What Happened at Vatican II* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 301.

[6] Promulgated 4 December 1963. Ibid., 140-41. O'Malley also notes that much of the discussion over reform in the liturgy also appealed to *aggiornamento*, yet he argues that this was in fact the result or consequence of the reform, not its rationale or cause. Thus, *ressourcement* was at times the real driving force for change despite a rhetorical gloss that was less threatening.

[7] Promulgated 21 November 1964. Ibid., 301-303.

[8] Promulgated 18 November 1965. *Dei Verbum* grew out of an earlier document, *De Fontibus* (on the sources of revelation) that had been presented to the first session on the day *Sacrosanctum Concilium* had been overwhelmingly approved (14 November 1962). But after relatively brief discussion and spirited, well-received opposition, *De Fontibus* was rejected (20 November) and Pope John XXIII intervened to assign its revision to a mixed commission, which unusual action signaled its removal from the grip of the minority who wanted to maintain the status quo. Ibid., 141-52, 301-303.

[9] Promulgated 7 December 1965. Ibid., 214-15, 301-303.

[10] Ibid., 76. The urging towards this style appeared in a note written by Ratzinger for Cardinal Frings to deliver to Cardinal Cicognani, September 1962, and so prior to the Council's first session and in reference to the first group of proposed documents from the preparatory stage.

[11] See Lenci, Ruggero. "Caratteri di permanenza e transitorietà nell'architettura di Giuseppe Nicolosi." *Rassegna di architettura e urbanistica* 36, nos. 106-108 (2002): 108.

[12] Franco Storelli, "Lo 'stile'," paper presented at the conference, "Giuseppe Nicolosi (1901-1981) architettura università città," Università degli Studi di Perugia, 19 October 2006.

[13] Marcello Rebecchini, "L'insegnamento," paper presented at the conference, "Giuseppe Nicolosi (1901-1981) architettura università città," Università degli Studi di Perugia, 19 October 2006. See also Giuseppe Nicolosi, "Storicismo e antistoricismo in architettura," reprinted in *Rassegna di architettura e urbanistica* 36, nos. 106-108 (2002): 238-45. Original publication, Roma: Edizioni "Augustea," 1938.

[14] It should be noted, however, that Nicolosi was critical of Croce's interpretation of Fascism, pointing to their explicitly claimed objectives of renewing and reviving historically founded values.

[15] "Storicismo e antistoricismo," 240-41.

[16] Ibid., 240.

[17] While the styles and of course the periods vary considerably, Kahn's 1944 essay on monumentality also asserted its intrinsically spiritual quality. The essay was published together with Sert, Léger, and Giedion's "Nine Points on Monumentality" and other contributions in Paul Zuckerman, ed., *New Architecure and City Planning* (New York, Philosophical Library, 1944).

[18] Ibid., 238-39.

[19] Ibid., 243-45.

[20] Sergio Poretti, "Il suo tempo," paper presented at the conference, "Giuseppe Nicolosi (1901-1981) architettura università città," Università degli Studi di Perugia, 19 October 2006.

[21] See Mario Casella, *18 aprile 1948: La mobilitazione delle organizzazioni cattoliche* (Galatina: Congedo Editore, 1992) and "Gli «Incontri» di Civiltà Italica," *Civiltà italica: mensile di studi politici, economici, sociali* 4, nos. 8-10 (1953).

[22] Indeed, one part of the parish story in this regard is their involvement in the lives of the residents of the squatter settlement along the nearby Roman aqueduct, with the complicated mix of intentions and various receptions to these by the squatters, the Church, and others in the city. See Roberto Sardelli, *In borgata* (Florence: Nuova Guaraldi, 1980).

[23] "L'osservatore Romano," 17-18 July 1967, 4.

[24] Ibid. The Gerini and Torlonia families were involved in the purchase of the land.

[25] "Progetto per la chiesa di San Policarpo e annesse opere parrocchiale: Relazione," 1 July 1961, Nicolosi Archive, courtesy of Stefania Nicolosi, Rome. This archive is not cataloged and is kept private in the hands of Giuseppe Nicolosi's daughter, Ms. Stefania Nicolosi. I was allowed access to the contents of the archives pertinent to the church of S. Policarpo, which comprises notes, reports, correspondence, design sketches and drawings, and photos.

[26] Perhaps an indirect sign of the dome's having become untenable is its curious nostalgic value that may be inferred by its inclusion in one of the very few advertisements included in *Fede e arte*. In the very front pages of volume 14, no. 1 (1966), a full page advertisement for the "Società del travertino romano" (STR) featured a photo of S. Giovanni Bosco from the piazza fronting it, whose image could not have but appeared dated in comparison to the buildings and building designs that populated the journal on a regular basis. As if to heighten this impression, the back side of the page containing the STR advertisement featured one, also full-page, for Henraux Marmi (marble) with most of the page given to a photo of the interior of Giovanni Michelucci's S. Giovanni Battista sull'Autostrada del Sole, which had been completed in 1964.

[27] Unfortunately, the records of this in the Nicolosi Archive are inconclusive regarding exactly when the request was made. The first document of the Council, the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy *Sacrosanctum Concilium* was promulgated on 4 December 1963. Based on subsequent narratives by Nicolosi, the request must have preceded January 1965 but may have been as early February 1961, when other records indicate Nicolosi had already completed at least one modification to an initial design in correspondence with ecclesiastical authorities. See letters to Rev. Mons. Spallanzani from Nicolosi, 17 February 1961 and 1 July 1961, with accompanying "Relazione"; letter to Rev. Mons. Fallani from Nicolosi, 1 April 1965 and accompanying "Chiesa parrocchiale di San Policarpo"; and subsequent narrative, "Progetto per la chiesa di S. Policarpo e per le opere parrocchiali: variante," 30

November 1967. See also Maria Argenti, "Costruzione e arte nell'architettura religiosa di Giuseppe Nicolosi. L'esempio di San Policarpo" *Rassegna di architettura e urbanistica* 36, nos. 106-108 (2002): 18-36.

[28] "Progetto per la chiesa di S. Policarpo e per le opere parrocchiali: variante," 30 November 1967, Nicolosi Archive.

[29] Ibid. The hexagon is, of course, also the subject of a long history in the iconography of the Church and its various political rivals, from Napoleon to the Renaissance popes to Roman antiquity.

[30] See the letter to Rev. Mons. Fallani from Nicolosi, 1 April 1965 and accompanying "Chiesa parrocchiale di San Policarpo," Nicolosi Archive.

[31] See "Progetto per la chiesa di San Policarpo e annesse opera parrocchiali: relazione," n.d., Nicolosi Archive.

[32] In rough ground floor area, S. Policarpo covers 1,350 square meters (14,500 square feet), S. Giovanni Bosco covers 3,530 square meters (38,000 square feet). Interestingly enough, S. Gregorio VII covers virtually the exact amount of area as does S. Policarpo.

[33] Available online at: http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decl_19651028_nostra-aetate_en.html

[34] See David I. Kertzer, *The Kidnapping of Edgardo Mortara* (New York: Alfred A. Knopt, 1997).

[35] Giuseppe Zander, "Chiese a simmetria centrale: Introduzione all'iconografia di oggi," *Fede e arte* 8, nos. -3 (1960): 34-69. The catalogue of churches with which the article closes includes drawings of S. Giovanni Bosco and SS. Pietro e Paolo.

[36] See especially the work of Duncan G. Stroik, South Bend, Indiana; see <http://www.stroik.com>. See also Michael S. Rose, *Ugly as Sin* (Manchester, NH: Sophia Institute Press, 2001).

Chapter 5

"Humanly Sublime Tensions":

Sancta Maria Mater Ecclesiae (1965-70)

In an unbuilt project for a new parish church, Sancta Maria Mater Ecclesiae, the so-called Chiesa del Concilio, the Roman architect Luigi Moretti (1907-73)[1] sought to embody and celebrate the achievements of the Second Vatican Council. The design emphasized radical novelty even as the architect described and justified it through explicit reference to far-flung and heavily interpreted historical precedent. The weight was placed so much on what was to be new, however, that the mode of mediation is best characterized as invention. Furthermore, questions of form as they pertain not only to ornament but also to such standard questions of enclosure and structure, are somewhat sidelined in order to clarify and refine the material expression of Moretti's distinct interpretation of the Council and its relevance for the problem of modern church architecture.

In 1967, Moretti published in *Fede e Arte* a pointed essay entitled, "Where two or three are gathered in my name... (Matthew 18:20)," concerning the "great

perplexity" facing architects designing new churches in the wake of the sea change that was the Second Vatican Council (1962-65).[2] Observing the "dangerous, or at least incautious, vehemence" with which otherwise sincere architects prematurely produced "a flood of purely formalistic designs," Moretti lamented the too-frequent consequence of "bare, denuded" churches.[3] This judgment, and this disparaging visual characterization in particular, echo a description Moretti had given a work of his own, albeit with approval: the Commemorative Chapel (or Sacrario dei Martiri) at the Foro Mussolini, Rome (1940-41).[4] Built to honor martyrs of the Fascist revolution and the last of three religious projects Moretti designed for the Fascist regime, the Sacrario was "austere and naked" precisely because Moretti sought neither to rely upon inherited forms nor to forge a new symbolic language but rather to work out of the "spirit" of tradition such as it was in Rome (Fig. 5.1).[5] He had become convinced that inherited symbols and forms no longer had adequate communicative capacity and marked instead a broad cultural crisis of western liberal-democratic civilization having reached a dead end. As symbols became increasingly abstract and objective, the modern view of reality became overly simplified; thus, for Moretti, the crisis was especially a crisis of spiritual reality and its waning.[6] As a strategy for response, he developed a studied indifference to the connotations of styles and forms that kept him relatively disassociated from the prevailing architectural currents of Italian modernism. But after the war he lauded the Second Vatican Council as a promising effort to address this very crisis. Insofar as the Council offered a newly reformed

perspective upon reality as framed by the relation between the human and the divine, a new architecture—most especially a new religious architecture—was then genuinely possible. While he remained averse to developing new form languages through explicit signs or symbols, he strove to avoid the emptiness of those early churches after the Council, the origin of which he located in the creation of "form without content."[7]

The preceding case studies have addressed each church in terms of the mode of mediation that appears most prominently in the matter of negotiating tradition and modernity towards forging a modern identity. In each case, formal-typological analysis preceded phenomenological-theological interpretation in order to keep their relative domains distinct. The former sought to steer clear of theology-laden concepts, aiming to articulate both the mode of mediation and the form of ornament enabling it, while the latter took up such concepts explicitly and, extending the formal-typological reading, sought the liturgical experience of beauty that was thereby suggested. As Sancta Maria Mater Ecclesiae remained unbuilt, however, and as the design was so explicitly tied to Moretti's reflections on the Council's reforms as evident in several writings as well as in the project files, extended site visits were impossible and the theological content is brought in from the outset.[8] Yet the candid presentation of such content as it is given concrete form provides an important opportunity to consider modes of mediation and forms of ornament in a more pointed manner. This is especially the case with Moretti since he offers a useful cap

to the foregoing analysis by exemplifying a thorough critique of modernity that nonetheless resists nostalgia. The design of the church suggests a sort of closing chapter on modernism and, indeed, coming as it does in the latter half of the 1960s, recalls the relevance of contemporaneous post-modern critiques, such as Robert Venturi's *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* and Aldo Rossi's *L'architettura della Città* (both 1966). Furthermore, Moretti's Sancta Maria Mater Ecclesiae was being designed exactly in the period of the most heightened excitement surrounding the reforms of the Council and their implications, even as various reaction began to set in, all of which was palpably checked if not halted in 1968 with Paul VI's encyclical *Humanae Vitae*.

Finally, to address the relation between architecture and religion in the context of this church is to consider a frequently sought or claimed but in fact fairly rare phenomenon: an architectural design whose primary identity is the expression of explicitly stated ideas.[9] Therefore, most significant for understanding the design of the Chiesa del Concilio is Moretti's theory itself, or the content it purports to express. This is found especially in certain of his writings, his other religious architectural projects and related activities, and his design process as evident in the many drawings preserved in the Moretti Archive at the ACS in Rome.

Chief among the relevant writings is Moretti's unpublished brief for the design of Sancta Maria Mater Ecclesiae, which includes an interpretation of the first document promulgated by the Council, *Sacrosanctum Concilium* (also known as the

"Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy," 4 December 1963). Also directly pertinent to the project are earlier reflections on the Council and its implications ("Dove due o tre") and his analysis of the architectural, historical, and theological aspects of the crisis mentioned above ("Spazi-luce nell'architettura religiosa").[10] The contrasting glosses on bare or naked space from the episodes opening this chapter, as well as Moretti's emphasis upon the groundbreaking nature of the Council, suggest that the mode of historical mediation most immediately apparent will be one tilted towards the present and the future. Nevertheless, there is no sheer break with history or tradition here, however much there may be part of a shift from modern to postmodern identities. Out of a critical response to an identified crisis, Moretti's approach displays not only an innovating focus but also a distilling of ornamental forms to their experientially most concise, to the degree that they seem less and less to have any form at all: light, the medium through which form is made visible, is instead conceptually wedded to space through the notion of "light-spaces," which offers the possibility of a spatial form of ornament.

Background

Luigi Moretti was Roman through and through. Born in Rome in 1907, he lived in the same street, via Napoleone III, most of his life. Raised by his mother, he kept a small studio in the building of his youth—even much later in life after he was married in 1968. He attended a prestigious secondary school, Collegio San Giuseppe,

Istituto de Merode, and then the Regio Scuola di Architettura from 1925 to 1930, at about the same time as Mario Paniconi and Giulio Pediconi. Moretti graduated with the highest honors and won the Valadier Prize for the best thesis. His earliest work was centered on the study and restoration of monuments, on which he built a solid reputation.

The year after graduating, he assisted Gustavo Giovannoni in history and restoration courses, and continued to pursue work in the studio he had opened while still a student. He had several collaborators, including painters, and their work was wide-ranging, including advertising, interior design, and exhibition planning. That same year he also worked on the Trajan markets with Corrado Ricci, through whom he met Renato Ricci, then Undersecretary of Educazione Nazionale, who appears in turn to have introduced Moretti to Felicia Abruzzese, an important contact within elite Fascist society.[11] An increased profile came to him in short order: in 1933, at just 27 years of age, he was named Director of the technical office of the Opera Nazionale del Balilla, the organization behind the Fascist youth movement. This role brought involvement, even when not direct commissioning, in major projects for the government. But commissions were plentiful in any event: Moretti designed almost fifty projects or buildings for the regime. Furthermore, if many architects took on such work, he was surely prominent among them by virtue of working on projects of special interest to Mussolini, thereby ensuring not only attention from him but also the attendant greater coverage by the press.[12]

Perhaps the most important, public, and monumental of these projects was the Foro Mussolini (now Foro Italico), for which he assumed from Enrico Del Debbio the responsibility to coordinate the various projects contained therein.[13] Moretti also designed several of the individual elements: the Casa delle Armi (1933-36), the Piazza dell'Impero (1937), the Palestra del Duce (1936), and the Sacrario dei Martiri (1940-41).[14] He also oversaw the design of local headquarters for the organization throughout Italy and designed several himself. As his career progressed, Moretti developed something of a following, for which he rented a villa in Tivoli where he and his entourage would retreat and join friends, clients, and others for occasional festivities and creative collaboration. While it is unclear who was typically included in this group, Moretti was surely becoming well known within the Fascist party and its extended community and he had among his clients many party officials.[15]

Professionally, Moretti retained a distinctive, individual voice. He was not tied to any of the major movements and was outspoken in his criticism of the major modernist school, the Rationalists, declaring in an interview that it was "born on paper, where it will live and die infallibly."[16] Indeed, his touchstones were found throughout history, included artists and architects, and ranged from ancient Greece and Rome to Michelangelo to Baroque Rome. In the 1950s he opened and operated a gallery, as a collector of eighteenth-century paintings and classical busts, as well as contemporary art. His involvement with Fascism is difficult to assess fully, but Cecilia

Rostagni suggests that his work was guided as much by the myth of *Romanità* as anything more overtly political, especially as the idea of Rome was hardly a myth to Moretti. He never sought an architectural language for Fascism as much as he simply strove to form an appropriately "new face" for the city of a "new people" through providing architectural order and clarity but, above all, transcending the past without contradicting or opposing it. Rome was already sacred to Moretti, and so beyond political ideas. The political content of his work seems mainly focused upon gathering together with already present historical monuments the new Fascist ones, to progress only in the spirit of continuous change that always operates out of a living tradition.[17]

Despite conflicting reports from biographers, it seems Moretti largely disappeared from public life from 1942 to 1945. He supported the Repubblica Sociale Italiana, Hitler's puppet state led by Mussolini in Salò and, after the war's end, was arrested and imprisoned for several months in Milan for trying to found a new political party. In prison he met Count Adolfo Fossataro, with whom he would gradually re-enter Roman society by way of a joint venture, Cofimprese, pursuing housing and other rebuilding efforts, first in Milan and then in Rome.[18] Nonetheless, amid the postwar controversies the Italian press largely ignored him until the mid 1950s, though even in this period his work was covered in a few foreign publications.[19]

Back in Rome, Cofimprese was dissolved in 1956, but Moretti continued work in the speculative rebuilding of the city, becoming chief architect for the large real-estate company Società Generale Immobiliare. Despite being very much on the outside of the political currents of postwar Roman society, Moretti nonetheless gained support through a combination of factors, including success in the newly capitalist suburban development, major commissions such as commercial headquarters in significant sites, and family ties that came with his marriage in 1968 to Maria Teresa Albani, an heiress of one of the most prominent Roman families. He also enjoyed a remarkable level of professional success, winning a series of prominent regional, national, and international awards from 1957 to 1964, including being named a member of the Accademia di San Luca and an honorary member of the American Institute of Architects.[20] Following upon his reintegration into Roman society and resumption of professional advancement, Moretti worked on urban and international projects through the late 1960s.

There was an important theoretical aspect to Moretti's work as well, especially in the postwar period. Doubtless in part a self-promotional effort, he presided over a private journal for the short run of three years and seven issues. *Spazio* (1950-53) was characterized by provocative graphic design and research driven by a deeply synthetic approach to the subject matter, such as historic architecture studied with an eye to the most theoretical aspects of contemporary discourse, with

inventive and at times unusual methods. For instance, in the article "Strutture e sequenze di spazi," he pursued a study of the spatial qualities of architecture by modeling in positive, three-dimensional form, the interior spaces of well-known buildings as a way to understand the phenomenological aspect of spatial experience (Fig. 5.2).[21] He often studied patterns or forms through close-up photographs of the elements involved and careful, detailed proportional and geometric analysis alongside.[22] Indeed, this combination of careful attention to form in all its particularity and far-reaching consideration of spatial experience in all its subtlety both marks his architecture as distinctive and makes it all the more difficult to categorize in any traditional fashion. It also naturally brings into question any presumed correspondence between form and content, especially as this pertains to the formal aspects of ornament understood as mediation. Moretti used clay models in the design process from 1933 and seems to have been preoccupied with what he took to be the Baroque notion of monolithic, modeled conceptions of architecture.[23]

In the late 1950s he worked to advance what he called "parametric architecture," a study of architectural and mathematical relationships, first through the Istituto Nazionale per la Ricerca Matematica e Operativa per l'Urbanismo (IRMOU) from 1957 and then, with Michel Tapié, through the International Center for Aesthetic Research from 1959. This work was presented at the Milan Triennale in 1960, to extensive media coverage. The 1950s also marked an increased interested and involvement in activities concerning religious architecture.[24] Moretti began to

form a professional relationship with Giovanni Fallani in 1956, then Director of the Pontifical Commission for Sacred Art in Italy; in 1961 he participated in the 9th Week of Sacred Art (where he presented the talk that would become the essay, "Space-Light in Religious Architecture"); in 1963 he joined a public debate in Turin on Italian sacred architecture; and he was nominated to the jury for new churches in Rome in 1967, governed by the Pontifical Office for the Preservation of the Faith and the Provision of New Churches in Rome, wherein he represented architects from Rome and Lazio.[25]

In some respects, these efforts were all wrapped up in the project for Sancta Maria Mater Ecclesiae, and, indeed, Marco Mulazzani sees it as a culmination of plastic unitary form, especially as the full integration of form, light, and structure into a single "unified absolute." [26]

Finally, postwar reception of Moretti and his work has been complicated, due in part to the combination of his talent, his political history, and his own outspokenness. After the initial postwar silence in the press began to subside amidst the widespread professional success he enjoyed in the late 1950s and early 1960s, it was still rare for any Italian architectural press to cover his work. The main exceptions were his friends Gio Ponti and Agnoldomenico Pica, plus a few comments by others, including Paolo Portoghesi, Ludovico Quaroni, and Bruno Zevi.[27] At times, Moretti provoked strong reactions among his peers. Perhaps the most prominent

example of this was his relationship with Bruno Zevi, whose postwar championing of organicism (learned in the United States) as an appropriate architecture for the new democratic republic was just one way in which he was naturally at odds with Moretti. Yet Moretti appeared forever to be seeking approval of Zevi, possibly out of a fundamental affinity concerning the importance of spatial analysis and conception in architecture, though he would do so in vain. The day after Moretti died, Zevi published a brief and rather harsh obituary, acknowledging Moretti's talents and potential but concluding that his career had been "a waste in civil and human terms."[28]

Even in architectural history books, Moretti is rarely mentioned, and when he is he is as likely as not to be either misunderstood or rather dismissed with negative judgments. A common charge was that he was only a "formalist," as when Manfredo Tafuri and Francesco Dal Co wrote of his later buildings that "he locked himself into a formalism that was its own end."[29] Considering the entire picture after the war, Gemma Belli sums up the difficulty of interpreting Moretti's work in terms of the what he immediately combined in people's minds: a star figure of the Fascist regime would find difficulty enough, but Moretti was also wildly successful following the war and so was also tied to the economic speculation of the political right that so marked the postwar years. The result is a difficult historiography that joins continuity with the problematic past coupled to the material successes of modernism and modernization.[30] Indeed, the first treatment of Moretti in these years that appears

genuinely unprejudiced is foreign: Robert Venturi's brief discussion of the Casa del Girasole in Rome in *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* (1966), followed shortly thereafter by translations of essays from *Spazio* in the American journal *Oppositions*.[31] That Venturi's book would come to be seen as a harbinger of postmodernism is relevant, for Moretti's critique of modernity as occasioning a cultural crisis rooted in an overly objective and abstract conception of reality has much in common with the postmodern critique. That he nonetheless articulates his critique through the language of religion and seeks a renewed sense of transcendence may mark him as on an altogether different track, but this is not at all a foregone conclusion, as the proponents of Radical Orthodoxy as well as certain recent strands of postmodern theory may suggest.[32]

The concrete occasion of the project for the church Sancta Maria Mater Ecclesiae was an INCIS housing development (1960-65) planned for the area, immediately to the southwest of the original E42/EUR, called "Decima." The church was designed to fit into and cap one edge of the complex, for which Moretti was the architect in charge of urban planning. He was also the architect, along with Vittorio Cafiero, Adalberto Libera, and Ignazio Guidi, for the housing itself, comprising a series of sinnuous blocks, four or five stories set upon pilotis.[33] The housing was built but Moretti's church never was. A church for the parish was later built about a mile to the southwest, designed by Giorgio Pacini in 1985-87.[34]

However, the idea of a new parish church dedicated to Mary as Mother of the Church originated at the Second Vatican Council itself. As one of a few surprise announcements at an allocution on 18 November 1965, during the final session of the Council, Pope Paul VI declared he would build a church dedicated to Mary, Mother of the Church. On 8 December of the same year, the final day and official close of the Council, the Pope blessed a cornerstone for the new church.[35] Significantly, Moretti refers specifically to the closing days of the Council in his reflections on the great challenge facing architects who would design new churches, calling out Paul VI's closing address (7 December 1965) as a "stupendous speech" that clarified the spirit with which one should proceed.[36] Furthermore, the following day, immediately after blessing the cornerstone of the church-to-be, the Pope introduced several speeches that were closing addresses from the Council as a whole to various particular audiences, including one "To Artists" as "the guardians of beauty in the world." This was likely written by the French philosopher Jacques Maritain, whose *Art and Scholasticism* of 1920 would almost certainly have been known to Moretti. There is no direct evidence that Moretti in fact knew Maritain's work, but it was widespread in Catholic art circles throughout the postwar period and, more to the point, it articulates an aesthetic vision of modernism that is critical of modernity without becoming nostalgic. Moretti's ideas as they are given to explain the design for the Chiesa del Concilio are uncannily similar to those of Maritain.

Overall, the INCIS Decima plan was organized around two cross axes, with the church planned for the southwest end of one, its opposite end heading towards the Tiber (Fig. 5.3). According to Moretti's description of the project as presented to INCIS, the entire development was conceived as a house, so as to maximize opportunities for bumping into other human beings, making physical interaction practically inevitable. This was to be achieved through the formal interplay among the undulating façades and the resultant intervening pedestrian spaces, streets, and intersections.[37] That is, Moretti conceived the urban planning as a matter of spatial creation, whose form factors would then be directed to enhancing the lived experience therein.

Sacrosanctum Concilium

The Second Vatican Council was a rather unexpected and remarkable event. Less than six decades earlier Pius X had declared "modernism" to be "the synthesis of all heresies" (Pascendi Dominici Gregis, 1907), and the subsequent Popes had continued in more or less reactionary modes, reaching an extreme period during the 1950s with Pius XII, under whom many modernist theologians were censured and suppressed. After Pius died (9 October 1958) and John XXIII was elected his successor, no one expected any major changes, but on 25 January 1959 the new Pope announced the Council. As it happened, many of the theologians that had been silenced by Pius XII played an important role in the preparation for the council.

Furthermore, the charter of the Council itself simply stands out rather forcefully when compared to all previous such events, in terms of its sheer proportion, its nature and focus, its openness to the laity and the broader world, the style of its discourse, its specific decisions and its guiding principle of *aggiornamento*.[38]

Also, a comment regarding the reception of the first document promulgated at the Council, the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, or *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, is in order. It has frequently been interpreted as having effected an adoption of the *domus ecclesiae* model over against a previously dominant *domus dei* model when it comes to church architecture. Yet the document itself did no such thing. Similarly, it has often been read to promote particular forms of architecture, often considered to follow as a matter of fact from the *domus ecclesiae* model. However, the document in fact said relatively little—remarkably little in light of these interpretations—about architecture, and what it did say it said in a mainly open-ended mode rather than through any rigorous definition.

For instance, the original schema for the Constitution did have more specific suggestions attached but the Council discussion settled instead on broad guidelines rather than laws. There followed Instructions that went into more detail (September 1964), such as recommending the placement of the high altar away from the wall so that celebration with the presider facing the people would be made possible. Still, neither the placement nor the *versus populum* celebration were mandated. Yet the rise in Eucharistic practice as the standard rite in many places, along with the

"banquet-character" of the rite and the cultural increase of "community-consciousness" of the 1960s, together so changed common practice that by 1966 the Constitution was widely held to have mandated such changes when it did no such thing, and the subsequent Instruction merely enabled them.[39]

What, then, does the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy say?[40] As an overview and with attention drawn only to aspects that relate in some manner to art or architecture, the following may be helpful. First, there is an introduction followed by seven parts, only the last of which concerns "sacred art and furnishings," which in turn includes architecture. Major themes of the Introduction pertain to the nature of the Church and have in common a union of potentially opposed or conflicting tendencies: the Church is human as well as divine, visible as well as invisibly equipped, active as well as contemplative, and present in the world as well as not truly at home here. The first section expressly concerns liturgical reform, and four principles or concepts stand out: "full active conscious participation" of the laity in the liturgy is encouraged; "noble simplicity" is held up as a guiding aesthetic principle; liturgy is a communal, not an individual, activity; and the use of the vernacular language is allowed (though not mandated).[41]

Subsequent sections concern the Eucharist, other sacraments, the Divine Office (accounts of saints and martyrs should accord with the facts of history), the liturgical year (it should suit the conditions of modern times), sacred music (chant and organ music is treasured, but the Church is open to other possibilities), and,

finally, sacred art and furnishings. This last section features three observations, the most closely tied to the problem of architecture to be found in the entire document: no style is uniquely suited to church usage; the prevalent art of contemporary times should yet be given "free scope," as long as it is exercised with "due reverence and honor"; and sacred images used for veneration may be retained but their use should be moderated to keep the practice properly ordered.

Moretti on *Sacrosanctum Concilium*

In his "Relazione" prepared to accompany the formal presentation of the design for Sancta Maria Mater Ecclesiae, Moretti pursued a rather free-wheeling meditation on what he took to be the overarching meaning of the document *Sacrosanctum Concilium* for the purposes of modern church art and architecture.[42] He began by reviewing some challenges bequeathed by history. Considering the development of architecture from 1750 onwards, he insisted that while there had been great examples of architecture among "sacred buildings," there had not been "churches" of high expression.[43] Instead, there had reigned a "domination of form for form's sake," without content or meaning.[44] And with the Enlightenment transformation of neighborly love into mere social contract, whatever meaning may have lain dormant in the liturgy was then reduced further still, leaving only a functionalist answer to a liturgy that was felt to be ever more "habitual, tired, and worn out."[45] Moretti observed that it was significant that *Sacrosanctum Concilium* was

the first document issued by the Council; it was a sign of the crisis. It was equally significant that the document avoided strict formulae or explicit directives to architects. Nevertheless, Moretti identified some guidelines as discernible therein.[46]

Here it is remarkable that Moretti proceeds not with the "noble simplicity" principle nor with any other aspect of the document obviously related to art or architecture. Rather, he identifies three main categories of guidelines: objectivity, love, and prayer.[47] Objectivity refers to the document's insistence upon the intrinsic goodness of all of creation, and the attendant focus upon quotidian reality. This runs counter to both positivists and idealists.[48] Love refers especially to love of the neighbor and is based on the human-God analogy. And it implies two lessons for Moretti that have distinct relevance for the postwar Italian setting: he contends that Marxism exists only because Christian love does not, and any community must be "materially visible" to be real or actual.[49] Finally, liturgical prayer is fundamentally communal and involves both thought and action. Nevertheless, there is room for the public-private distinction, and this maps onto the distinction between liturgy (public) and devotion (private).[50]

Now, Moretti moves right on with what he takes to be the implications of this regarding the architecture for churches. Several themes emerge. First, new church architecture would inevitably be speculative. It is no mere extension of a continuing tradition nor a recovery of a remote yet still viable one. Also, there should be no arbitrary form without meaning. Rather, the situation and challenge require forms

with both new and ancient meanings. In whatever form, the assembly of persons is properly at the center of such a new church, and it should be filled with a diffuse and clear luminosity.[51]

Building upon the idea of the assembly of persons at the center, Moretti considers that a community is the sum of its parts, and these comprise the various forms of individual as well as communal prayer. Accordingly, the new church architecture should provide concatenations of spaces for such.[52] Also following from this idea of assembly and prayer is the notion that the church should be a refuge from the external world, which Moretti suggests be achieved through the exclusion of "elements recalling visual construction."[53]

The aim here is no mere separation for separation's sake, but all is oriented towards the goal of exalting the gathered community. Architecturally, such a "temple" exalts only with "absolutely new forms," in an environment of "space-light," featuring throughout "abstract forms in an atmosphere of humanly sublime tensions" that altogether bring about "an infinite and indissoluble inseparable unity."[54] Hardly suggestive of any one model, *domus dei*, *domus ecclesiae* or otherwise, Moretti's conceptual interpretation of the guiding themes of objectivity, love, and prayer towards concrete expression in architectural form trades at every turn upon some strategy of mediation, perhaps best encapsulated on the whole by his phrase "humanly sublime tensions."[55]

Sancta Maria Mater Ecclesiae

How, then, does Moretti envision such ideas taking physical and phenomenal form as an architectural celebration of the Council? First, as it remained an unbuilt project and emphasized the conceptual content over specifics of construction, Moretti presented the church in various media and with differing apparent aims at work. Furthermore, as one of his tenets was to avoid marks of recognizable constructive traditions, the ideal seems to have been a more or less atectonic philosophy and thus was rather different than the dominant tendency in this period. And it must be asked, whether such an ideal is at all approachable with actual construction; or, more specifically, whether Moretti's church is in any way buildable (Figs. 5.4, 5.5, and 5.6).

Moretti's description of the church in his "Relazione" begins with the entry. Many drawings show the architect working out in great detail some way to understand and control the phenomenological experience of moving into and through the church (Figs. 5.7, 5.8, and 5.9). One enters underneath a broad covering and then through a zone of constriction, or spatial compression, moves through a momentary reprieve or breath, and on through another, lesser place of compression, and then bursts out into the interior of the church. Beyond a mere attempt to orchestrate a dramatic entry, Moretti suggests a sort of analogue, mapping the procession onto a typical plan of a traditional latin-cross church (Fig. 5.8). Here he lists the successive stages of a downright historically conditioned model, formally

represented in abstract plan forms, but translates them into a new form that is structured by spatial experience and the notion of "space-light." In the final package of presentation material for the design, he includes a set of conceptual diagrams that seek to explain how various levels and qualities of light help to define the concatenation of zones within the church as well as to coordinate with and reinforce the spatial compression-expansion scheme that seeks to leave behind the external world and prepare for the "magical sacred space" of the assembly (Fig. 4.9).[56] Whereas "sacred space" would normally imply some governing ideal other than the gathered assembly, Moretti is intent upon holding them together.

Attending to the geometry of the plan, a distinct progression develops that also embodies a tension of normally conflicting orders (Figs. 5.10 through 5.15). The plan is a perfect circle at its base, but then, as one moves up (and following the floor plans cut at successively higher levels) the form is entirely transformed: first to a single ellipse, then to an elongated ellipse, and finally to dual ellipses. The idea is to use the form of the walls to effect the change rather than any meeting of disparate forms, so that the change occurs without an explicitly felt or perceived sense of change for the inhabitant. Moretti also notes the size of the planned church to house a thousand people and to be about 30 meters in diameter, comparing this favorably to the Pantheon (40 meters), S. Maria Maggiore (30 meters) and S. Andrea (26 meters).[57]

The longitudinal section conveys a sense of Moretti's requirement that there be no divisions, joints, or marks of construction (Fig. 5.16). Indeed, the image is more like a biological entity, more grown than anything constructed. This drawing also shows the two opposing "fountains of light." One faces north and so provides a diffuse, homogeneous, "reading" light (Moretti refers to Brunelleschi's S. Spirito in Florence), while the other faces south and features both multi-color and transparent glass (Moretti refers to gothic cathedrals and to the mystical theology of S. Teresa d'Avila). The hoped-for result is not so easy to render either verbally or formally: "the interior space will be elusive, formed by vaporous, continuous luminosity" (Fig. 5.176).[58]

Turning then to the place of the clergy, Moretti describes the ensemble of altar, ambos, seats, and tabernacle as deserving special status and so necessarily elevated (Fig. 5.18). The tabernacle receives special treatment, here being tall and so holding the reserved sacrament aloft, yet also utterly eschewing any further enclosing gesture but rather offering it "isolated like a precious tower" and marking it by a "blade" of light from the "gash/rip" in an otherwise immutable wall (Figs 5.18, 5.19, and 5.20).[59]

Moretti sums up the whole as "a 'continuum' for coordinating, molding/forming universality, transcendent and earthly."[60] One relatively minor but telling detail helps express the tension-filled mediation between the mundane and the transcendent that he seems to have in mind: when discussing voice amplification, he

proposes a series of microphones be installed unobtrusively in various places all around (altars, ambos, etc.) so that as one moves around the naturally human voice is amplified as if by the very environment.[61] A similarly minor but provocative remnant of his thinking in the process of design can be found in two separate parts of one drawing, where he appears to have sketched out in a diagrammatic way two normally opposed models for the church (Fig. 5.21): if the one is taken to distill to an image the *domus ecclesiae* model with a gathered community and a presider, all enclosed within a domestic shape, the other may be a similar distillation of the *domus dei* model, with more monumental shapes either held high above a community of persons or standing directly behind a single being. That both occupy separate corners of a single sheet seems appropriate to the architect seeking above all to create "a magical gathering space between the visible and the invisible."[62]

Comparanda

As Moretti's Sancta Maria Mater Ecclesiae was never built, considering comparanda is a slightly different task than with the other case studies. The dominant mode of mediation is one of invention, as the emphasis is on forming a wholly (for Moretti) or largely (for most others) new form language with which to articulate modern identity in terms of architecture and theology. Thus, traditional models may be somewhat present but are not dealt with explicitly. Hints at the *domus dei* and *domus ecclesiae* conceptions arose even with Moretti's church, but they are

mainly superseded by overriding ideas that seek above all a new synthesis. If ornament is that which mediates the experience of the work of architecture, Moretti's church relies upon a mode of mediation as invention through an admittedly amorphous form of ornament: space-light. By contrast, the built comparanda display their inventiveness typically through exuberant form. Whether such a design as Moretti's could maintain its elusive quality when realized is debatable, but the intention and conception of the work at least suggests that it is best understood as pressing upon the implications and consequences of modernism. Perhaps it presses so far as to express the end of the road for the modern and to approach the postmodern in its leap to a newly reconfigured transcendence.

In Moretti's case this synthesis is the creation of a space for the presence of "humanly sublime tensions," given form through frankly amorphous means. In the cases of these built comparanda, each posits something new that is dominant, within which other models may coexist but less as mediation partners than simply as remainders. SS. Urbano e Lorenzo (1971), by Giorgio Pacini, offers the strongest example among the churches under study of an organicist approach (Figs. 5.22 and 5.23). The poured-in-place concrete walls appear almost as if they were taken from the nearby rock face; their irregular patterning is echoed everywhere in the nave interior, whose canted roof plane in turn echoes that of the gallery opposite. The invention here is the decidedly modest form language that inevitably recalls Gothic

traditions even while it operates on its own logic entirely, founded mainly on local resonance and internal coherence.

S. Achille (1972), by Giorgio, Claudio, and Massimo Guidi, offers by way of invention a combination of quite explicit geometry in plan and structure, on the one hand, and a downright casual disposition of the walls and liturgical elements on the other (Figs. 5.24 and 5.25). The result is an appearance of certain governing orders, while in fact the chief governing device is simply the fan-shaped seating arrangement. S. Mattia Apostolo (1978), by Ignazio Breccia Fratadocchi is similarly ordered with regard to seating, but the dominant idea is clearly the narrowing, ascending reinforced concrete channels that take a basic logic and achieve a dramatic result though the chiaroscuro of the interstitial glass and the sheer heaviness of the roof (Figs. 5.26 and 5.27). Paniconi and Pediconi's Sacra Famiglia a via Portuense (1978) takes as its guiding principle the articulation of a circular enclosure so as to ensure and nourish the cohesion of the people gathered therein (Figs. 5.28 and 5.29). Coherent with this aim is the strategy of taking a fairly dramatic gesture in reinforced concrete and resolving it into a humanizing, anti-monumental assemblage.

Conclusion

Luigi Moretti's design of the church that was to celebrate and express the modernizing achievement of the Second Vatican Council is defined by a tension between otherwise opposed ideas, forms, and gestures. That is, it is explicitly not

defined by a clear choice of one obvious model over another, be that choice for *domus ecclesiae* over *domus dei*, communal over hierarchical space, or modernism over history. Rather, it is a distinctive tension that seeks to express what Moretti took to be the essence of the challenge of modern religious architecture in the midst of its crisis: to express the relation between the human and the divine, or what he simply calls the "religious spirit" and aligns closely to light. In the midst of the crisis of communicative forms, the church must be utterly modern and new yet also deeply rooted in the most ancient of traditions.[63]

In terms of the proposed interpretive framework that would see ornament as mediation and thereby re-conceive the formal aspect of ornament entirely, Moretti's Sancta Maria Mater Ecclesiae appears to carry modernism to its conclusion by drawing upon the most basic elements of spatial experience in the creation of something entirely new. Indeed, to the degree that one wants to see recognizable, tangible forms in the design, notions of biomorphism and evocations of Mary's womb emerge. But Moretti nowhere speaks of this. Rather, he seeks to achieve "a transcendent unity" that both focuses upon the gathered community yet in turn orients that community towards the transcendent other.[64]

The Chiesa del Concilio employs a spatial form of ornament that mediates through invention by employing a basically phenomenological form, "space-light," in order to evoke an altogether new and unfamiliar environment that nonetheless is rooted experientially in the long tradition of western church architecture. Moretti

uses "space-light" in his descriptions and drawings to convey movement into and through the church. He also uses it to govern this movement according to historical models that are not however echoed formally. Central to his entire narrative, both describing the church as well as glossing the contributions of the Council, is the tension between the human and the divine, and this is mapped onto light in theological as well as architectural terms. That is, beyond the formal, spatial, and phenomenological levels of analysis, Moretti is after beauty as a distinctly theological end, as the glory of the Lord that is invoked by human stances towards the divine but yet remains utterly transcendent. In an almost parenthetical comment at the end of his reflection stemming from the promise of divine presence in the midst of human community ("Dove sono due o tre riuniti nel mio nome... (Matteo 18.20)"), Moretti reminds the reader that beauty is "the mirror of divinity." As iconoclasm is to be avoided, one must be courageous and the architect must "sharpen his animus," all the while remembering the distinction between "living beauty" and "worn-out beauty."[65]

Thus, Moretti insists upon locating "living beauty" ultimately in the divine but as made visible through reflection in the works of artists and architects. This puts his aesthetic squarely in line with Maritain's, for whom art is an intellectual virtue and the divine beauty is best reflected to the modern world by the most abstract "forms." What could be more abstract than "space-light"?

Chapter 5 notes

[1] The literature on Moretti is immense, though very little has been addressed to his religious architecture and only quite recently. His religious buildings comprised just seven projects, only one of which were built and that was subsequently demolished: two Fascist-era memorials, three parish churches, and two sanctuaries. As a noteworthy exception to the historiographical silence, more documentary than interpretive but providing a solid groundwork for future research, see Gemma Belli, *Luigi Moretti: il progetto dello spazio sacro* (Florence: Alinea Editrice, 2003) and "Progetti di chiese nella ricerca di Luigi Moretti," *Palladio* 16, no. 31 (January 2003): 69-86. For general introductions see Bruno Reichlin and Letizia Tedeschi, eds., *Luigi Moretti: Razionalismo e trasgressività tra barocco e informale* (Milan: Electa, 2010); Federico Bucci and Marco Mulazzani, eds., *Luigi Moretti: Works and Writings*, trans. Marina deConciliis (Princeton, NY: Princeton University Press, 2002); and Cecilia Rostagni, *Luigi Moretti: 1907-1973* (Milan: Electa, 2008).

[2] "Dove sono due o tre riuniti nel mio nome... (Matteo 18.20)," *Fede e arte* 15, nos. 4-6 (1967): 8-15. Reprinted in Belli, *Luigi Moretti*, 140-43. English translation by Marina deConciliis in Bucci and Mulazzani, eds., *Luigi Moretti*, 201-204.

[3] Moretti, "Dove sono due o tre," 8-9: "scarne e nude."

[4] For basics on the project, see Belli, 75-79 and Rostagni, 216-20.

[5] Rostagni, 65.

[6] Rstagni, 40-41.

[7] Moretti, "Dove sono due o tre," 8-10.

[8] Accompanying the design drawings, models, and photographs of the project in the Luigi Moretti Archive at the Archivio Centrale dello Stato in Rome are presentation materials of the final design, including a red, cloth-bound book containing Moretti's theoretical and programmatic explanation for the design; see "Relazione," Luigi Moretti Archive, ACS, Box 91. Not referring explicitly to the Sancta Maria Mater Ecclesiae but clearly articulating his views and goals for new churches in light of the Council, are also Moretti, "Dove sono due o tre," and "Spazi-luce nell'architettura religiosa," *Fede e arte* 10, no. 1 (1962): 168-98.

[9] I thank Dennis Doordan for first making this observation.

[10] *Fede e arte* 10, no. 1 (1962): 168-98.

[11] Belli, 15.

[12] Rostagni, 38.

[13] See Antonella Greco and Salvatore Santuccio, *Foro Italico* (Rome: Clear, 1991).

[14] See See Cherubino Gambarella, "Luigi Moretti e il disegno della Palestra del Duce, Scrittura, spazio e prospettiva," *ArQ* 12 (1994): 170-78.

[15] There is an account that he met Mussolini personally at the Imperial Fora and discussed great issues concerning urban migration, the relationship between the city and the country, and such themes, but the only testimony to this is from Yvon De Begnac, a sympathetic biographer of Mussolini. See De Begnac's *Luigi Moretti Architetto Romano* (Rome: Agenzia Giornalistica Romana, 1974).

[16] Quoted in Bucci and Mulazzani, eds., *Luigi Moretti*, 213. See L. Diemoz, "Luigi Moretti architetto. Propositi di artisti," *Quadrivio* 3 (12 December 1936).

[17] Rostagni, 56-60.

[18] See Bucci and Mulazzani, eds., *Luigi Moretti*, 214; Agnoldomenico Pica, "Luigi Moretti," Luigi Moretti Archive, ACS, Box 98; De Begnac, *Luigi Moretti Architetto Romano* (Rome: Agenzia Giornalistica Romana, 1974); Belli, *Luigi Moretti*, 15.

[19] These included *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, *The Architectural Review*, and the Swedish *Svenska Dagbladet*. See Belli, *Luigi Moretti*, 15.

[20] Belli, *Luigi Moretti*, 15-16.

[21] In *Spazio* 7 (December-April 1952-53): 9-20.

[22] See, for example, Luigi Moretti, "Valori della modanatura," *Spazio* 3, no. 6 (December-April 1951-52): 5-12.

[23] Bucci and Mulazzani, 29, n. 23.

[24] See, for example, the inclusion of his spatial studies in the first National Congress of Sacred Architecture, 1955, in Bologna; for documentation see Luciano Gherardi, ed., *Dieci anni di architettura sacra in Italia, 1945-1955* (Bologna: Edizione dell'Ufficio tecnico organizzativo arcivescovile, 1956); see also Glauco Gresleri, "La questione del sacro," in *Luigi Moretti: Razionalismo e trasgressività tra barocco e informale*, Bruno Reichlin and Letizia Tedeschi, eds. (Milan: Electa, 2010), 295-311.

[25] Rostagni, 147; 157, nos. 131-35.

[26] Bucci and Mulazzani, 25-28.

[27] Belli, *Luigi Moretti*, 16.

[28] The full quotation is: "He possessed an authentic artistic temperament integrated with a notable if nonmethodical culture and an extra-ordinary professional capacity. He could have assumed a determining role in the depressed Italian atmosphere; but a spasmodic desire for individual affirmation associated with an intellectualism like that of d'Annunzio, greedy for the refinements and luxuries, reduced his creativity to insufferable conventionality. A waste in civil and human terms." Quoted in Bucci and Mulazzani, eds., *Luigi Moretti*, 215; for the original see Bruno Zevi, "Computer inceppato dal dannunzianesimo," *Cronache di architettura* 982 (1979): 130-33.

[29] *Modern Architecture*, Trans. Robert Erich Wolf (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1979), 382. For bare mentions that identify him as a Rationalist, see Richard Etlin, *Modernism in Italian Architecture, 1890-1940* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1991), 434, 494.

[30] Belli, *Luigi Moretti*, 16.

[31] Belli, *Luigi Moretti*, 16-17. Venturi, *Complexity and Contradiciton*, 22. The translations appear in *Oppositions* 4 (October), 1974.

[32] See, as primary texts for Radical Orthodoxy, John Milbank, *Theology and Social Theory* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993) and Catherine Pickstock, *After Writing: On The Liturgical Consummation of Philosophy* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1998). See also John D. Caputo, *The Prayers and Tears of Jacques Derrida: Religion without Religion* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1997).

[33] Salvatore Fruscione, "Quartiere INCIS a Decima," in *La caitale a Roma: città e arredo urbano, 1945-1990*, Daniela Fuina, et. al. (Rome: Carte Segrete, 1991), 81.

[34] Stefano Mavilio, *Guida all'architettura sacra: Roma 1945-2005* (Milan: Electa, 2006), 194. In the interim, however, the commission had gone to Luigi Figini and Gino Pollini in 1978; see Gresleri, "La questione del sacro," 307.

[35] John W. O'Malley, *What Happened at Vatican II* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 283-89.

[36] "Dove due o tre," 8.

[37] Achille Maria Ippolito, "La progettazione dello spazio pubblico tra utopia e realtà," in *La caitale a Roma: città e arredo urbano, 1945-1990*, Daniela Fuina, et. al. (Rome: Carte Segrete, 1991), 76. See also Rostagni, 260-63.

[38] See John W. O'Malley, S.J., "Vatican II: Did Anything Happen? *Theological Studies* 67 (2006): 3-33. His summary description of the changes embodied in the event of the Council, as seen in its vocabulary, is worth quoting in full: ". . . from commands to invitations, from laws to ideals, from threats to persuasion, from coercion to conscience, from monologue to conversation, from ruling to serving, from withdrawn to integrated, from vertical and top-down to horizontal, form exclusion to inclusion, from hostility to friendship, from static to changing, from passive acceptance to active engagement, from prescriptive to principled, from defined to open-ended, from behavior-modification to conversion of heart, from the dictates of law to the dictates of conscience, from external conformity to the joyful pursuit of holiness." Ibid., 29.

[39] See Josef A. Jungmann, "Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy," in *Commentary on the Documents of Vatican II*, edited by Herbert Vorgrimler (New York: Herder and Herder, 1966): 1-88, 84, no. 5.

[40] For Conciliar and post-Conciliar documents, see Austin Flannery, O.P., ed. *Vatican Council II: The Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents* (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1977).

[41] On the matter of "noble simplicity," while it seems to have originated with Winckelmann (as I indicated in Chapter 1), its liturgical appropriation seems to have begun with Edmund Bishop and as a matter of combatting Northern European liturgical inculturation as part of Pius X's attack on modernism. See Edmund Bishop, *The Genius of the Roman Rite* (London: Beaufort House, 1899). See also C. Johnson and A. Ward, "Edmund Bishop's 'The Genius of the Roman Rite': Its Context, Import and Promotion," *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 110, no. 6 (1996): 401-44.

[42] See "Relazione," ACS, Moretti, Box 91.

[43] Ibid., 2.

[44] Ibid., 3.

[45] Ibid., 4.

[46] Ibid., 5-6.

[47] Ibid., 7-9.

[48] Ibid., 7.

[49] Ibid., 7-8.

[50] Ibid., 9.

[51] Ibid., 10.

[52] Ibid., 11.

[53] Ibid., 12.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Ibid., 15.

[57] Ibid., 16.

[58] Ibid., 17.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Ibid., 20.

[61] Ibid., 20-21.

[62] "Spazi-luce," 189.

[63] "Spazi-luce," 170.

[64] "Dove due o tre," 14.

[65] Ibid., 15.

Conclusion

The modern church in Rome, as seen in these four case studies, against a backdrop of interdisciplinary discourses, and through the lens of an interpretive framework centered on mediatory modes and ornamental forms, is evidence of an architectural culture characterized by a fruitful hybridity and careful attention to the challenges of modern religious architecture. Gaetano Rapsardi's Salesian S. Giovanni Bosco presented a critical mode of mediation that operated through a material form of ornament; Paniconi and Pediconi's Franciscan S. Gregorio VII displayed an updating mode of mediation enabled by a tectonic form of ornament; Giuseppe Nicolosi's small church of S. Policarpo manifested a mode of mediation as retrieval made concrete through a geometrical form of ornament; and Luigi Moretti's projected Sancta Maria Mater Ecclesiae offered the limit case of an inventive mode of mediation through a spatial form of ornament.

Rapisardi constructed a pointed but nuanced critique of Fascist-era ecclesiastical classicism by turning formal references to surprising ends with an interior awash in material richness, color, and light. The plan and the spatial conception clearly synthesize longitudinal and centralized gestures even as they

subtly mitigate against the formal signs of the *domus dei* model, resulting in a powerful hybrid experience. Emphatically new materials appear in the midst of those that are very familiar and traditional, together composing a distinctly new yet deeply rooted environment for the liturgy. S. Giovanni Bosco is as monumental as it is immanently grounded in the midst of the impoverished community that is its parish.

Paniconi and Pediconi took up the long-lived typological tradition of basilican church building and updated it to a modern context in S. Gregorio VII. Still recognizably a basilica, the tectonic arrangement and articulation of the structure and enclosure systems revise the organization typical of a basilica towards a more unified interior and a more dynamic spatial expression. Distinctly modern assemblies combine to reinforce a sense of hermetic isolation from the profane world outside, even as the fully integrated modern lighting system completely alters the quality of the resultant enclosure. St. Gregorio VII is a tectonically ordered basilican hybrid whose updating proclaims intimate awareness of contemporary practice yet remains clearly in dialogue with the typological precedent it updates.

In S. Policarpo, nearby S. Giovanni Bosco, Giuseppe Nicolosi reached back to elemental geometries and interwove them to produce a building that is the very essence of hybridity. The subtle conversation between structure and enclosure, entirely subordinate to geometrical gestures barely contained in the space of the church but just as much in the service of a spatial intimacy, virtually vibrates between typically opposed notes: *domus dei* and/or *domus ecclesiae*, central and/or longitudinal,

historical and/or modern, transcendent and/or immanent, abstract and/or concrete. Nicolosi's church is a reflection of *ressourcement* as an intentional strategy for viable renewal in the midst of uncertainty and change.

Luigi Moretti brought his intense reflection upon the meaning of the Second Vatican Council to bear upon the problem of religious architectural creation in the project for Sancta Maria Mater Ecclesiae. Precisely rooted in the moment of the Church's institutional reform, a phenomenological interpretation of architectural space and perception, crystallized in the notion of "space-light," guides the plan organization and its unfolding articulation towards an altogether new formal conception of a church. Moretti's brief for the design focuses upon the ultimate theology-laden hybridity, that between the human and the divine, as central to the challenge of modern religious architecture and best pursued as the goal of embodying spatially these "humanly sublime tensions."

The overarching aim of this research has been to understand better the phenomenon of modern religious architecture. The focused analyses of the case study churches have been directed by the proposed hermeneutic framework. Having emerged from a consideration of the relevant historical and theoretical issues within both the architectural and theological domains, mediation was found to be promising, mainly through the affinities among the work of Karsten Harries, Oleg Grabar, and Hans Urs von Balthasar, and especially regarding the matters of

ornament and beauty. The resulting interpretive framework centered upon modes of mediation and forms of ornament, and aimed to be sufficiently rich and pointed to address the religious content, but also subtle and modest enough to be of value for those whose commitments and convictions place them outside such a theology-laden context.

The interpretations of the four case study churches made frequent use of the notion of hybridity, as one would expect for a period of widespread if uncoordinated resistance to the Kantian aesthetic at the root of the interpretive difficulties. Hybridity may indeed be, in some significant manner, constitutive of modern identity. There appears to be no clear tie, however, between particular modes of mediation and forms of ornament. One may presume, for instance, given a different set of case studies, that examples of mediation as retrieval may feature tectonic or material forms of ornament, etc. And, the four modes of mediation and forms of ornament are surely not likely to be exhaustive of the possibilities.

But as an exercise in methodology, it is appropriate to offer an evaluation of the proposed interpretive framework. Does it increase our understanding of the churches under study as exemplars of modern religious architecture? In light of the communicative crisis central to the critique of Harries and von Balthasar on aesthetics and ornament and evident in much of the postwar discourse, does the hermeneutic help these churches speak? The answer to both questions is yes, but within distinct and important limits. The interpretations offered in each case provide

portraits of modern identity that incorporate the architectural factors at hand (while eschewing canonical or reductive readings of modernism) into the intricate permutations of changing attitudes towards modernity within the Catholic Church. Each is a nuanced articulation to the fundamental questions, what is a church? and how is art related to religion? Set within the cultural and political context of the postwar period, historically paradigmatic answers to both questions are demonstrated to have continued relevance when adequately qualified and situated. However, closer study of the social history of specific parish communities, including local liturgical heritage and subsequent practice, initial and developing attitudes towards the new churches, and the shifting role of the congregation within the surrounding neighborhood, would surely provide further nuance and could alter the contour of any interpretation given herein. Furthermore, a brief consideration of each case study reveals limits to the proffered reading that also suggest markers for possible future revisions or expansions to the hermeneutic.

While S. Giovanni Bosco may indeed be read as a kind of critique of recent, Fascist-era religious architecture, it is surely not as stringent or as pointed a critique as it presumably could have been. As noted in the discussion of the church, such a reading depends almost entirely upon entering and experiencing the interior, while the dominance of the exterior in fact found its place as a marker of alienation and frustration in film and, one may presume, more broadly as well. The use of the exterior as one of the few advertisements in *Fede e Arte* (1966) betrays a kind of

nostalgia that is difficult to read, and the fact that the church was to become the last dome in Rome only adds to the difficulty.[1] It may be that both the difficulty and the prominence of the church results just as much from its inherent ambivalence as it does from any critical stance. Such ambivalence would still trade on the themes and elements of the proposed interpretive framework but would likely emphasize an emphatically hybrid identity over any clearcut oppositional position.

The interpretation of S. Gregorio VII as an updating appears solid enough in terms of the prevalent references to basilican typology, but other questions are raised by way of the notion of tectonic ornament. Architecturally, developments in international practice among architects known for their facility both in tectonic detail and in provocative juxtapositions of reinforced concrete with masonry construction, such as the work of Louis Kahn, would likely be informative and could reconfigure the proposed reading of ornament. And if beauty is in some manner the theological counterpart to ornament, it must be admitted that this remains relatively underdetermined. Indeed, while each of the four case study churches were evidently well cared for and even treasured, during a visit one of the parishioners at S. Gregorio VII pointedly described it as "grand" in a way that betrayed at least some reservation regarding beauty.

The comparative relevance of Kahn and other international architects is also suggested by the appeal to primordial form and geometry in S. Policarpo. What is more, the question of intentionality is implicitly raised in the case of whether

Nicolosi had any specific reference in mind for the permutations upon hexagon and hexagram so clearly evident in the built work. While the utility of the interpretive framework does not rest fully upon such express intentions, reading as it does the buildings themselves as primary source texts with lives of their own beyond the initial design conceptions, such explicit imagery in the midst of the indeterminate evidence concerning the design process nevertheless qualifies the analysis. It also suggests the value of another direction, for a sustained study of the reception history following the building would likely fill out the present interpretation in useful ways.

Finally, Moretti's "Chiesa del Concilio" is, as acknowledged in the chapter devoted to it, a limit case. It may indeed be read profitably as a mediation of invention through a spatial form of ornament conceived as "space-light," but it is fair to ask whether such a notion of ornament here remains too inchoate to be of much use. And as the church was never built, the avenues for more focused, local study are less readily available. As such a theoretical project, however, it may be as significant as a marker of the emerging discourse surrounding postmodernity, wherein identity is perennially indeterminate and frustrated, as it is a culminating stage in articulating a modern religious architectural identity.

Stemming from these brief observations is another, broader methodological one: the continued relevance for this project of Hans Urs von Balthasar is open to question in light of the manifest affinity of the various interpretations to the aesthetic of Jacques Maritain. The clearest promise of von Balthasar here remains,

however, not the availability of a modern aesthetic that is helpful insofar as it is reflected by specific works of architecture (as in Maritain, where the abstract tends to map onto the spiritual for a modern world), but rather the much larger theological environment wherein the problem of theological and artistic identity may be best understood in all their (still developing) convolutions in and through modernity and well into postmodernity, whatever that may eventually be said to be.

The hermeneutic of modes of mediation and forms of ornament, as applied to the case studies herein, clearly has limits. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the fecundity of such a hermeneutic is measured less by the absoluteness of the readings it affords than by the increased semantic possibilities. It is less a matter of now being able to say the definitive thing as it is of being able to say more, to say it more precisely, and simply to speak more cogently and fully about modern religious architecture. The inclusion of the relevant strands of the theological discourse surrounding modern identity is a large part of this value, and increased nuance brought by greater attention to local variety should add to this value, even as it may qualify and destabilize any particular interpretations.

Beyond the values and limits of the interpretive framework for understanding the churches in the present study, however, and aside from the evident prevalence of hybridity, there does not seem to be any indication of emerging patterns to suggest an increased possibility of commonly-held form languages. The fundamental critique

of a communicative crisis, a fading of the ethical function of architecture, and the waning of theological aesthetics in the modern age (as found in Harries, Grabar, and von Balthasar) underlie the impetus for the research as well as the structure of the proposed interpretive framework. Such a manifold critique has something in common with certain varieties of post-modernity, at least to the degree that the post-modern view critiques precisely those moments and structures in which modernity and its projects fail.[2] But, it also suggests two basic options for future research concerning such matters, stemming from how thorough the crisis appears to be and what implications follow regarding human action in response.

First, perhaps the communicative crisis is here to stay, at least for the foreseeable future, and we can do little about it.[3] In *Real Presences*, a book on essences and the relation between art and religion in its broadest sense, George Steiner has described our present situation as a profound time of waiting. At the end of the book, he leaves the reader emphatically situated within the Sacred Triduum that runs from Maundy Thursday and culminates in Easter: on matters such as theologically meaningful form we may just be living in the time of Holy Saturday, after the divine presence has departed and still waiting for the coming morning.[4] The problem of what to do, let alone how to build, in the midst of such a time is not addressed by Steiner.

The similarly oriented moral philosophy-cum-cultural critique of Alasdair MacIntyre, however, especially in *After Virtue*, has occasioned specific responses

from those persuaded by the critique: to retreat into local communities, sufficiently small to be sustained and nourished, in order to prepare and lay the groundwork, as it were, for the eventual emergence of the possibility of a more fully shared discourse.[5]

Second, however, perhaps the crisis is open to resolution, if the phenomena under study are addressed with appropriate care and sufficient perspicacity to discern emerging patterns or new conceptual possibilities for commonly shared discourse and identity. In fact, in the case of MacIntyre's influential critique, Jeffrey Stout has countered that we actually do have the bases for viable communicative discourse; they are just in a nascent state and in need of nourishment, and they went unnoticed largely because MacIntyre's analysis was tuned for intellectual history and neglected other, more concrete strands of the story.[6]

On this second option, perhaps the concept of hybridity can itself provide enough traction for a way forward that respects the complexity of the modern (and postmodern) world and avoids both reductive readings of identity (where the modern is simplicity itself and hybridity appears only with postmodernity) as well as mere revelry in the midst of endless plays of signifiers (postmodernity's supposed triumph of incomprehensibility).[7] The work of Radical Orthodox theologians, such as Catherine Pickstock, William T. Cavanaugh, and John Milbank, may be a promising venue for future theoretical work in this vein, for they operate out of a postmodern critique of modernity but also seek to reclaim transcendence and liturgy as somehow constitutive of human identity.[8]

Finally, as concrete possibilities for considering hybridity (or other heretofore unnoticed features) more thoroughly and in concert with the interpretive framework utilized herein, one may extend the research in three particularly promising directions: 1) the interpretive framework may be brought to bear upon a much broader range of religious architecture and be augmented by quantitative analysis so as to discern any possible patterns that may be present among modes of mediation and/or forms of ornament; 2) the hermeneutic may be applied to a deeper range of distinct sets of mediating modes and ornamental forms, again in order to seek after any emerging patterns; and alternatively, 3) one may identify one or more architects whose work, however stated or experienced aside form any specific theology-laden context, may otherwise be in some manner in tune with the themes outlined herein (e.g. Louis Kahn), and develop the broader interpretive implications of their work for understanding modern religious architecture.

Conclusion notes

[1] See the front pages of volume 14, no. 1 (1966): a full page advertisement for the "Società del travertino romano" (STR).

[2] One example would be the claim that post-modernity emerges out of the waning of metanarratives. See Jean-François Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1984).

[3] After all, von Balthasar insists that however much beauty will be similar to divine glory, the differences will be greater still; cataphatic theology will always be shadowed by the apophatic. And so, perhaps a theological aesthetics is not fully possible. Or perhaps it is at least not possible now, or for some time being, given the evident lack of a common communicative discourse.

[4] George Steiner, *Real Presences* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1989).

[5] Alasdair MacIntyre, *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1981); see also his *Three Rival Versions of Moral Enquiry* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1990) and *Whose Justice? Which Rationality?* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1988). Chief among the responses of those persuaded by MacIntyre's critique is Stanley Hauerwas and William H. Willimon, *Resident Aliens: Life in the Christian Colony* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1989).

[6] Jeffrey Stout, *Democracy and Tradition* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005).

[7] Hybridity has featured prominently in postcolonial theory and literature, but the suggestion here is to see it as constitutive of modern identity as an inevitable result of having to negotiate the various mediations presented in this research.

[8] See Catherine Pickstock, *After Writing: On the Liturgical Consummation of Philosophy* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998); William T. Cavanaugh, *Torture and Eucharist: Theology, Politics and the Body of Christ* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998); John Milbank, *Theology and Social Theory: Beyond Secular Reason* (1993). Hans Urs von Balthasar is also appropriated anew among Radical Orthodox theologians; see, for example, Lucy Gardner, David Moss, Ben Quash, and Graham Ward, *Balthasar at the End of Modernity* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1999).

Figures

Figure 2.1: S. Giovanni Bosco (1952-59), by Gaetano Rapisardi.
Photo by author.

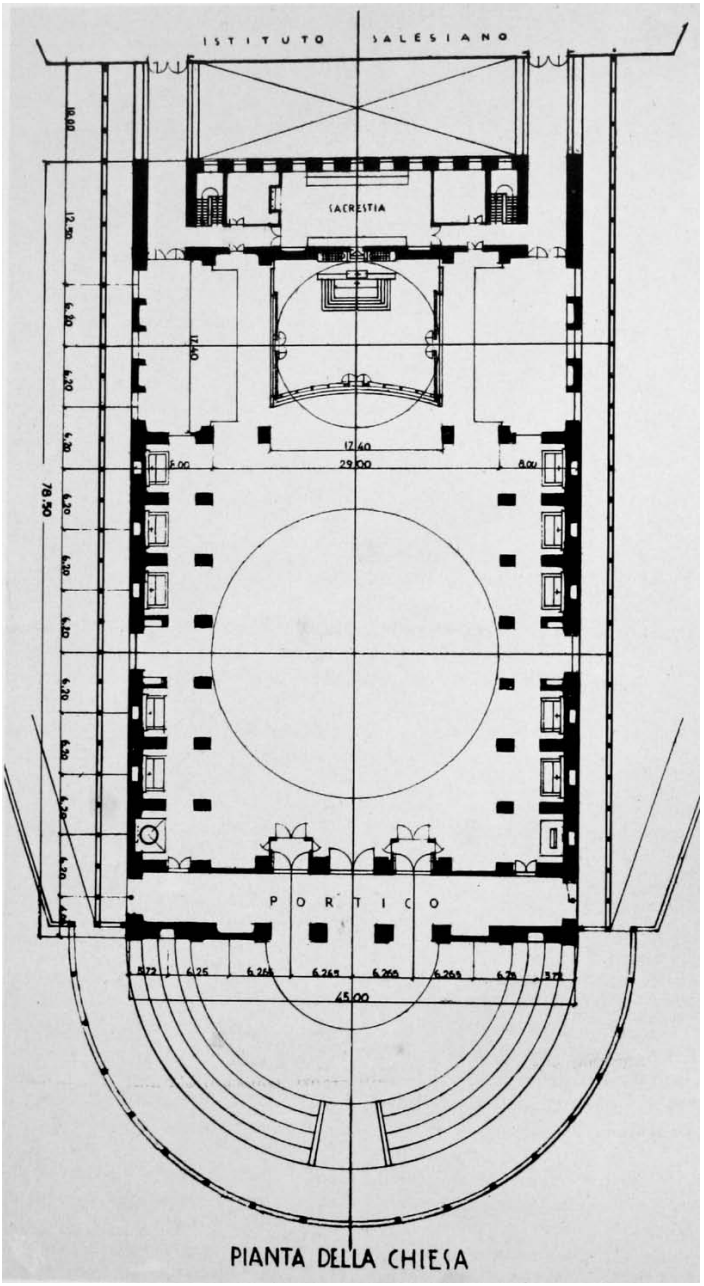

Figure 2.2: S. Giovanni Bosco (1952-59), by Gaetano Rapisardi.
Plan. Ruggiero Pilla, *La basilica di S. Giovanni Bosco in Rom*a (Turin: Società Editrice Internazionale, 1969), 80.

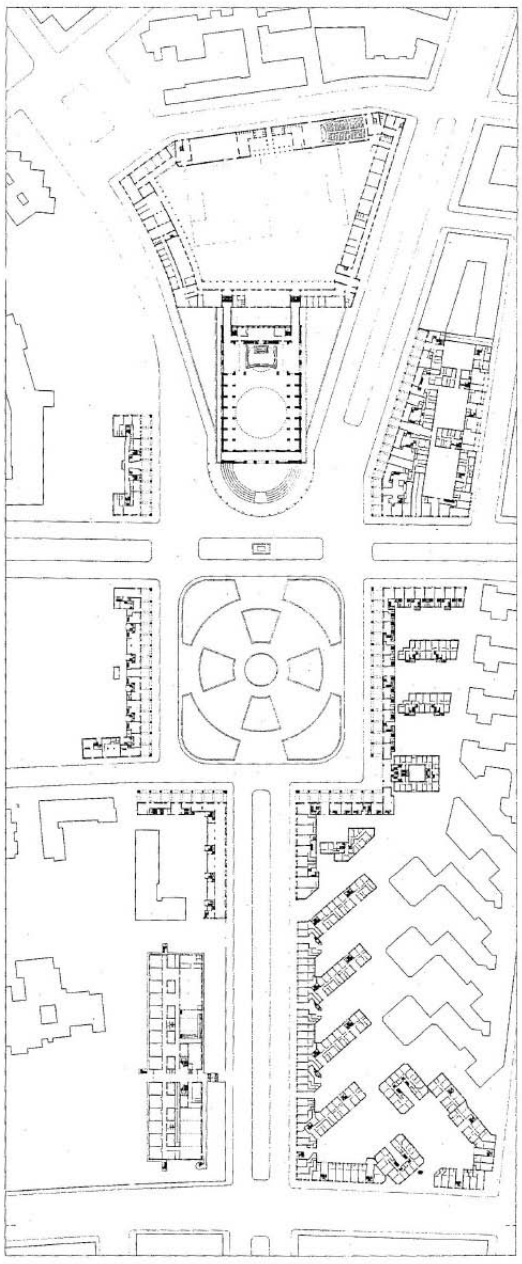

Figure 2.3: S. Giovanni Bosco (1952-59), by Gaetano Rapisardi.
Site plan. Elena Ippoliti, "La piazza di S. Giovanni Bosco al Tuscolano," *Dossier di urbanistica e cultura del territorio* 10 (April-June 1990): 77.

Figure 2.4: S. Giovanni Bosco (1952-59), by Gaetano Rapisardi.
Pope John XXIII visiting on 3 May 1959. Ruggiero Pilla, *La basilica di San Giovanni Bosco in Roma* (Turin: Società Editrice Internazionale, 1969), 47.

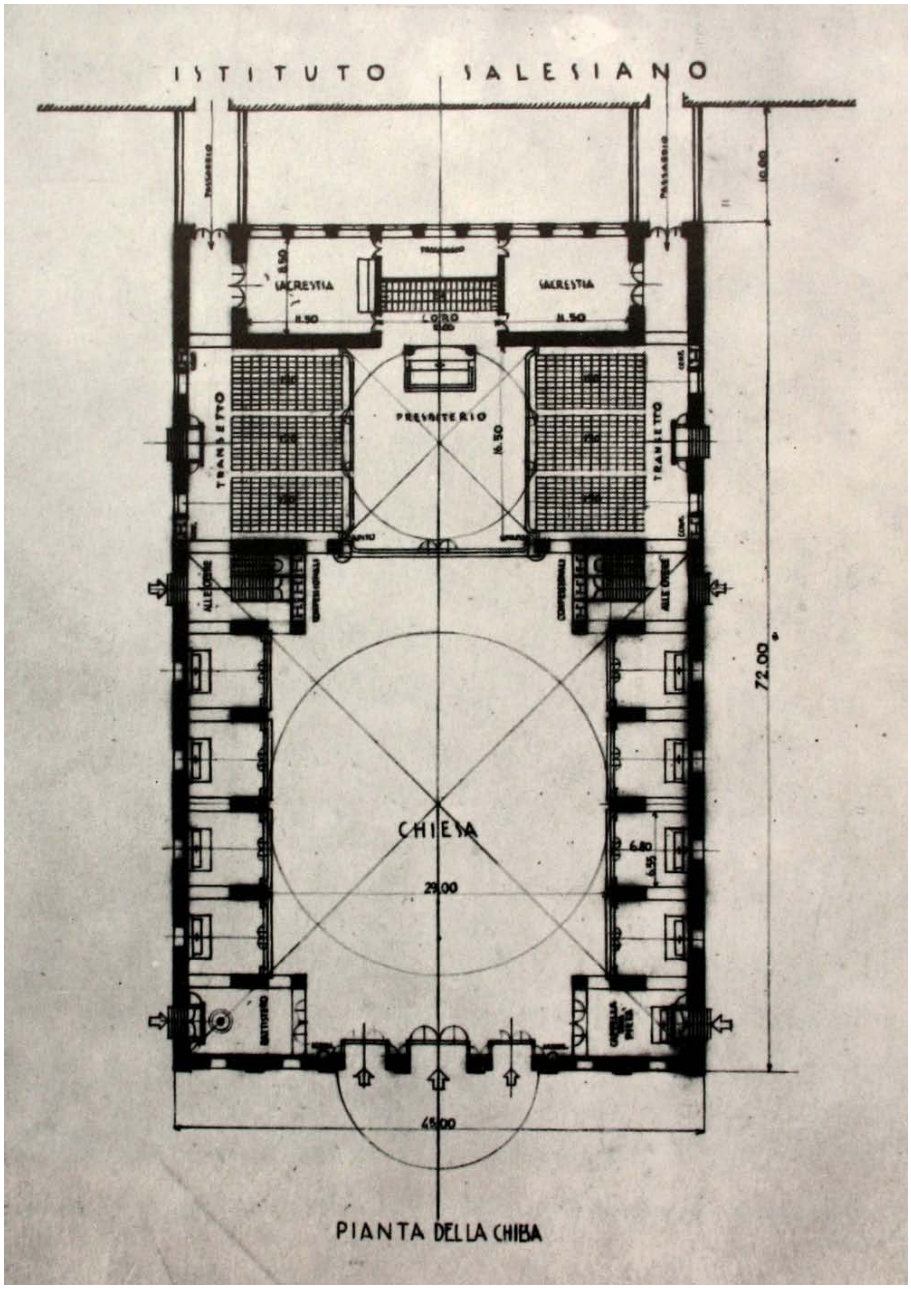

Figure 2.5: S. Giovanni Bosco (1952-59), by Gaetano Rapisardi.
Plan of second-stage, winning design. Ruggiero Pilla, *La basilica di San Giovanni Bosco in Roma* (Turin: Società Editrice Internazionale, 1969), 31.

Figure 2.6: S. Giovanni Bosco (1952-59), by Gaetano Rapisardi.
Photo by author.

Figure 2.7: SS. Pietro e Paolo (1938-55), by Arnoldo Foschini. Photo by author.

Figure 2.8: SS. Pietro e Paolo (1938-55), by Arnoldo Foschini.
From parish website: http://www.parrocchie.it/roma/sspietroepaolo/New/Visita_new.htm, accessed 26 April 2009.

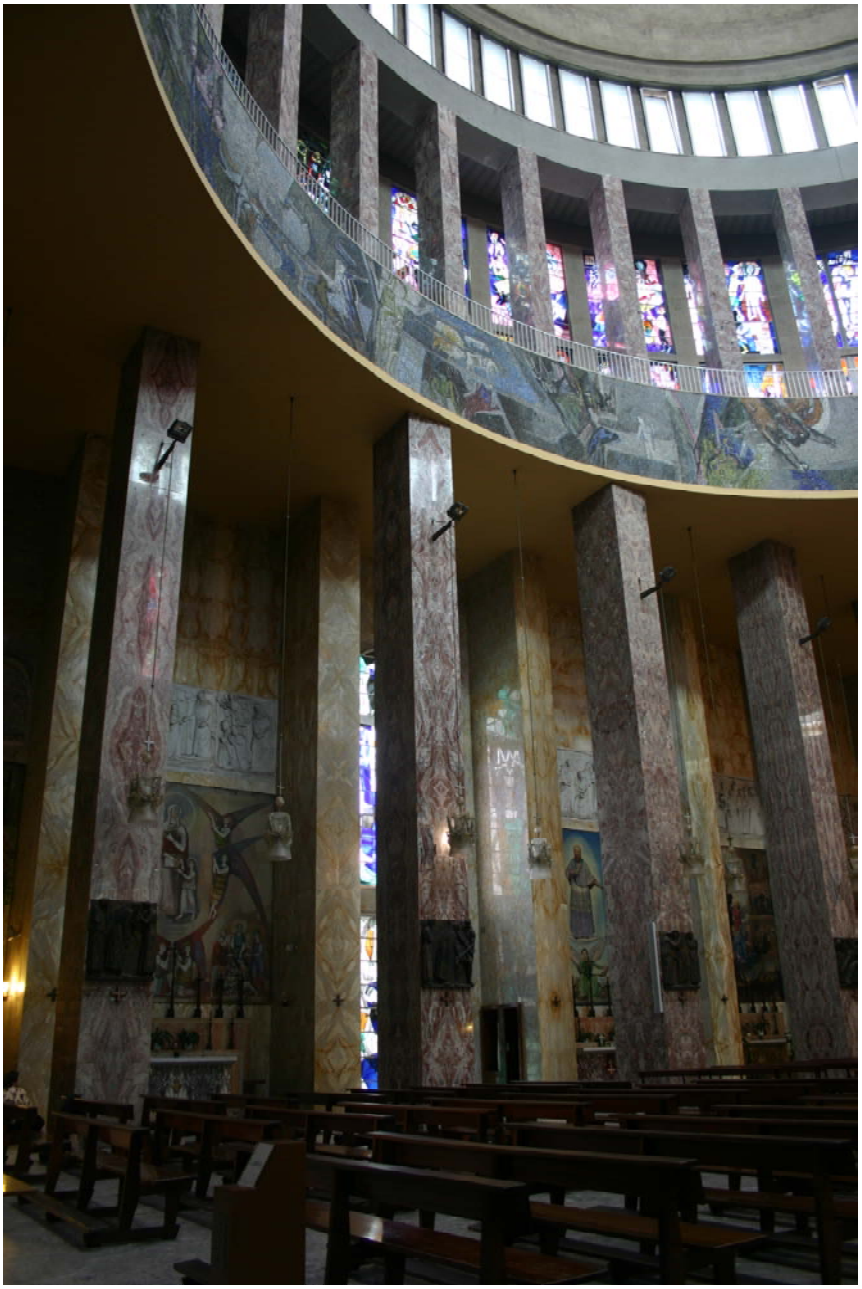

Figure 2.9: S. Giovanni Bosco (1952-59), by Gaetano Rapisardi. Photo by author.

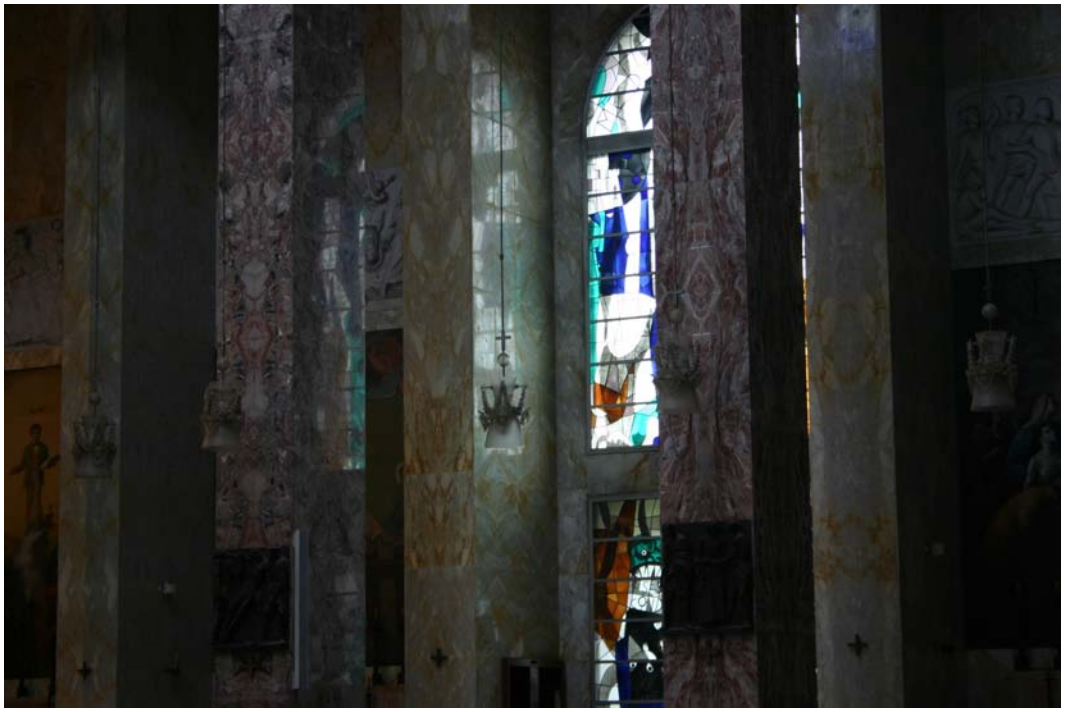

Figure 2.10: S. Giovanni Bosco (1952-59), by Gaetano Rapisardi.
Photo by author.

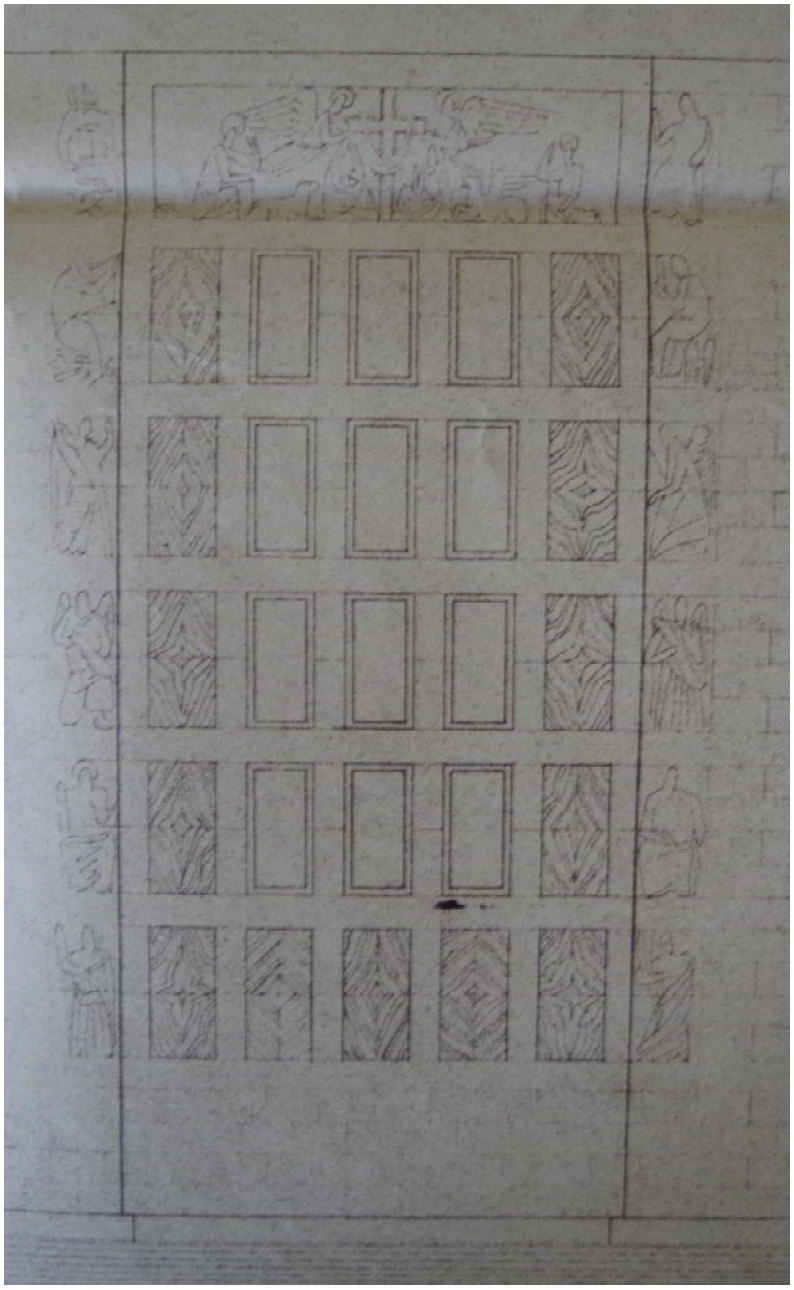

Figure 2.11: SS. Pietro e Paolo (1938-55), by Arnoldo Foschini.
Book-matched marble indicated (but not realized) for exterior niches. Drawing dated 6 June 1939. Sheet CS 24. ACS, EUR, Box 754.

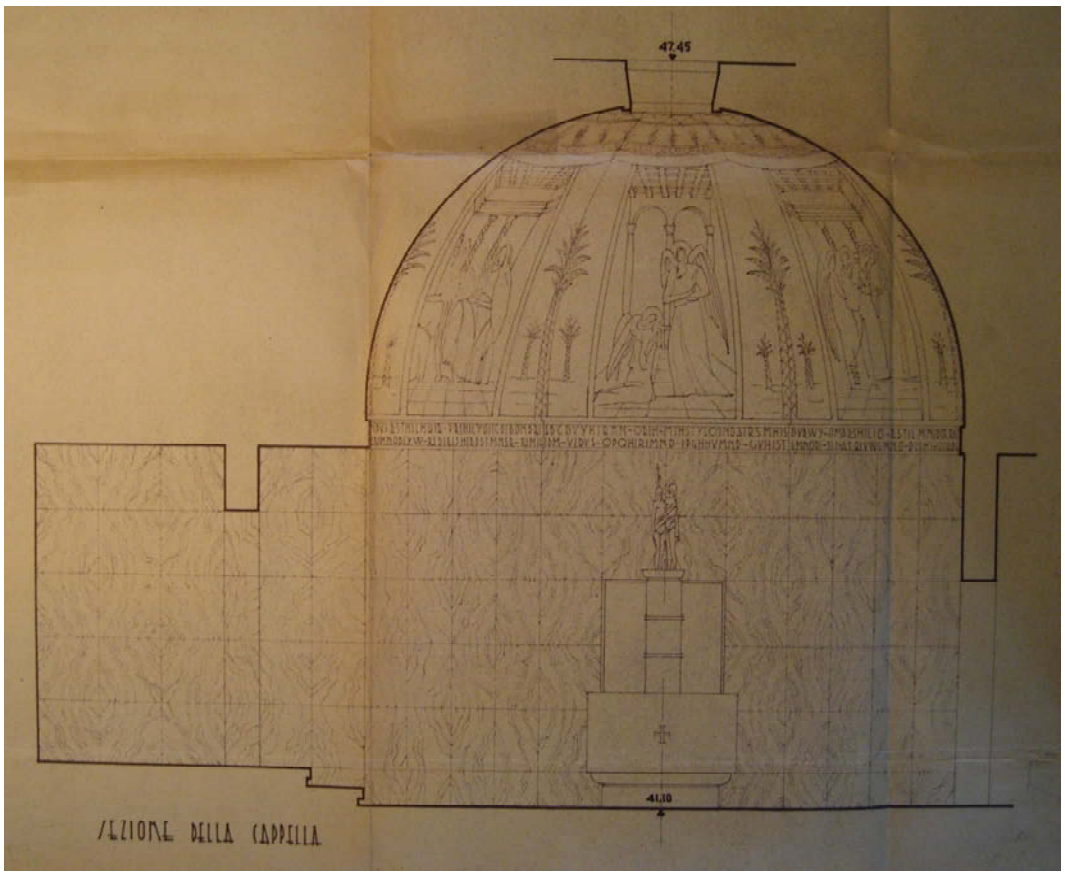

Figure 2.12: SS. Pietro e Paolo (1938-55), by Arnoldo Foschini. Section through Baptismal Chapel. Book-matched marble indicted for chapel walls off of main church. ACS, EUR, Box 757.

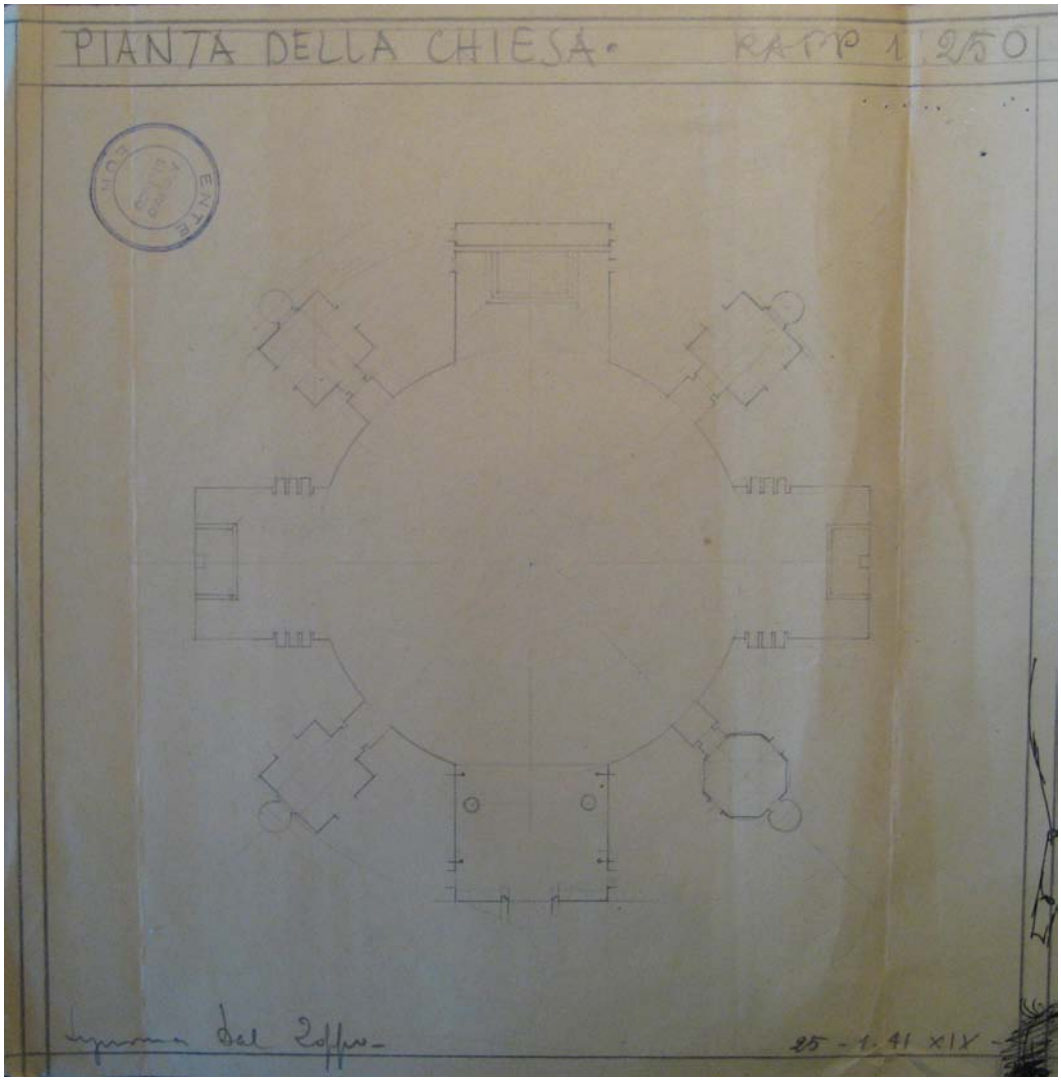

Figure 2.13: SS. Pietro e Paolo (1938-55), by Arnoldo Foschini.
Plan. Baptismal Chapel at lower right. ACS, EUR, Box 757.

Figure 2.14: S. Giovanni Bosco (1952-59), by Gaetano Rapisardi.
Photo by author.

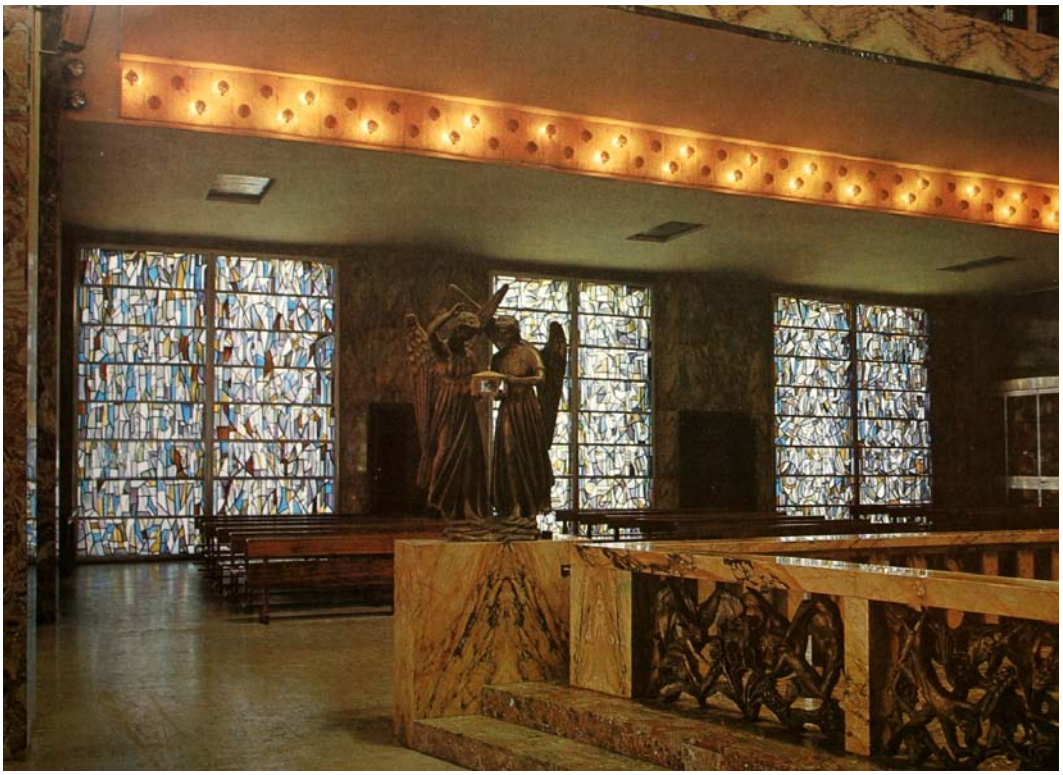

Figure 2.15: S. Giovanni Bosco (1952-59), by Gaetano Rapisardi.
View into north-east transept, with electric lightbulb array on face of gallery. Ruggiero Pilla, *La basilica di San Giovanni Bosco in Roma* (Turin: Società Editrice Internazionale, 1969), 193.

Figure 2.16: S. Giovanni Bosco (1952-59), by Gaetano Rapisardi.
Still from Pier Paolo Pasolini, "Mamma Roma," 1962.

Figure 2.17: S. Giovanni Bosco (1952-59), by Gaetano Rapisardi.
Early view towards basilica. Ruggiero Pilla, *La basilica di San Giovanni Bosco in Roma* (Turin: Società Editrice Internazionale, 1969), 54.

Figure 2.18: S. Giovanni Bosco (1952-59), by Gaetano Rapisardi. Photo by author.

Figure 2.19: S. Giovanni Bosco (1952-59), by Gaetano Rapisardi.
Photo by author.

Figure 2.20: S. Giovanni Bosco (1952-59), by Gaetano Rapisardi.
View along the portico. Ruggiero Pilla, *La basilica di San Giovanni Bosco in Roma* (Turin: Società Editrice Internazionale, 1969), 74.

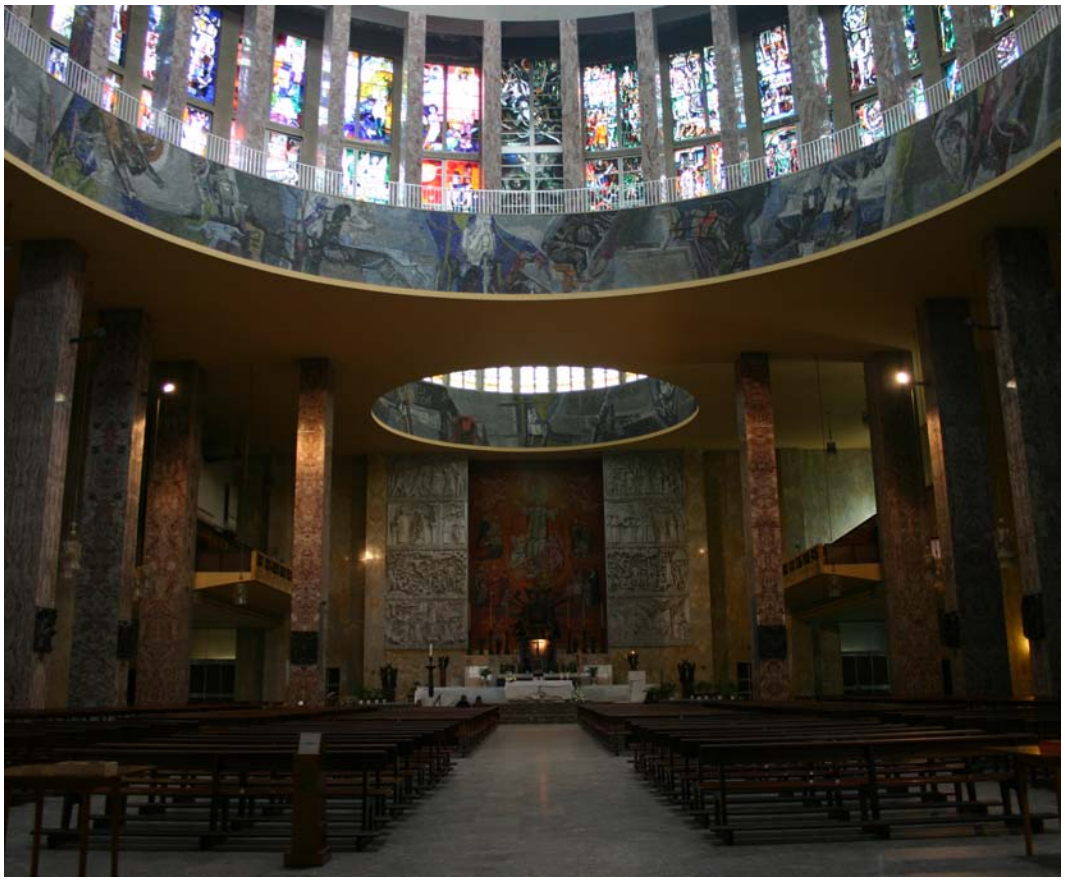

Figure 2.21: S. Giovanni Bosco (1952-59), by Gaetano Rapisardi.
Photo by author.

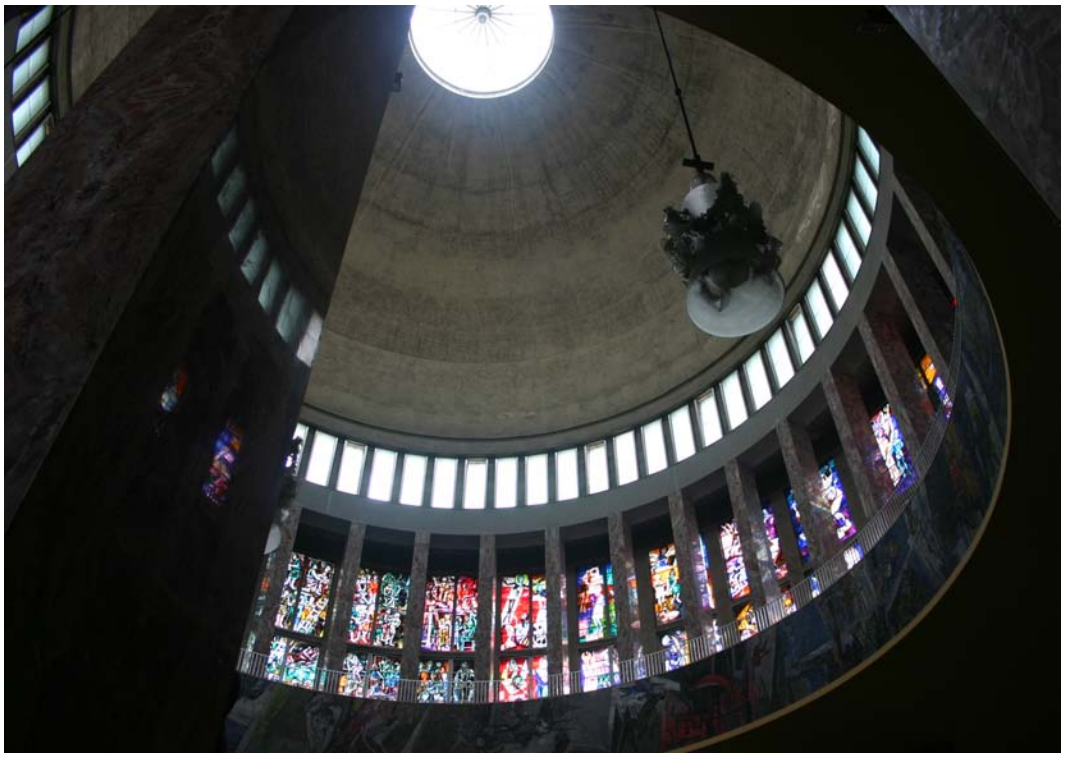

Figure 2.22: S. Giovanni Bosco (1952-59), by Gaetano Rapisardi.
Photo by author.

Figure 2.23: S. Giovanni Bosco (1952-59), by Gaetano Rapisardi.
Photo by author.

Figure 2.24: S. Giovanni Bosco (1952-59), by Gaetano Rapisardi.
Photo by author.

Figure 2.25: S. Giovanni Bosco (1952-59), by Gaetano Rapisardi.
Photo by author.

Figure 2.26: S. Giovanni Bosco (1952-59), by Gaetano Rapisardi.
Photo by author.

Figure 2.27: S. Giovanni Bosco (1952-59), by Gaetano Rapisardi.
Photo by author.

Figure 2.28: S. Maria della Visitazione (1971), by Saverio Busiri Vici. Photo by author.

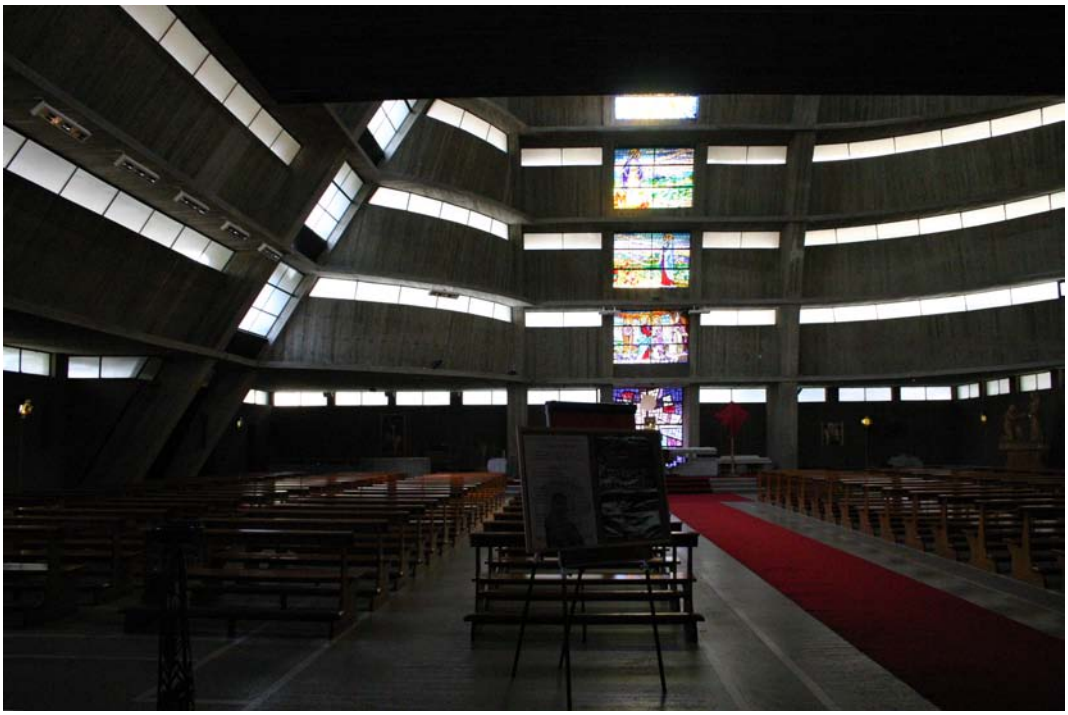

Figure 2.29: S. Maria della Visitazione (1971), by Saverio Busiri Vici.
Photo by author.

Figure 3.1: S. Gregorio VII (1957-61), by Paniconi and Pediconi.
Photo by author.

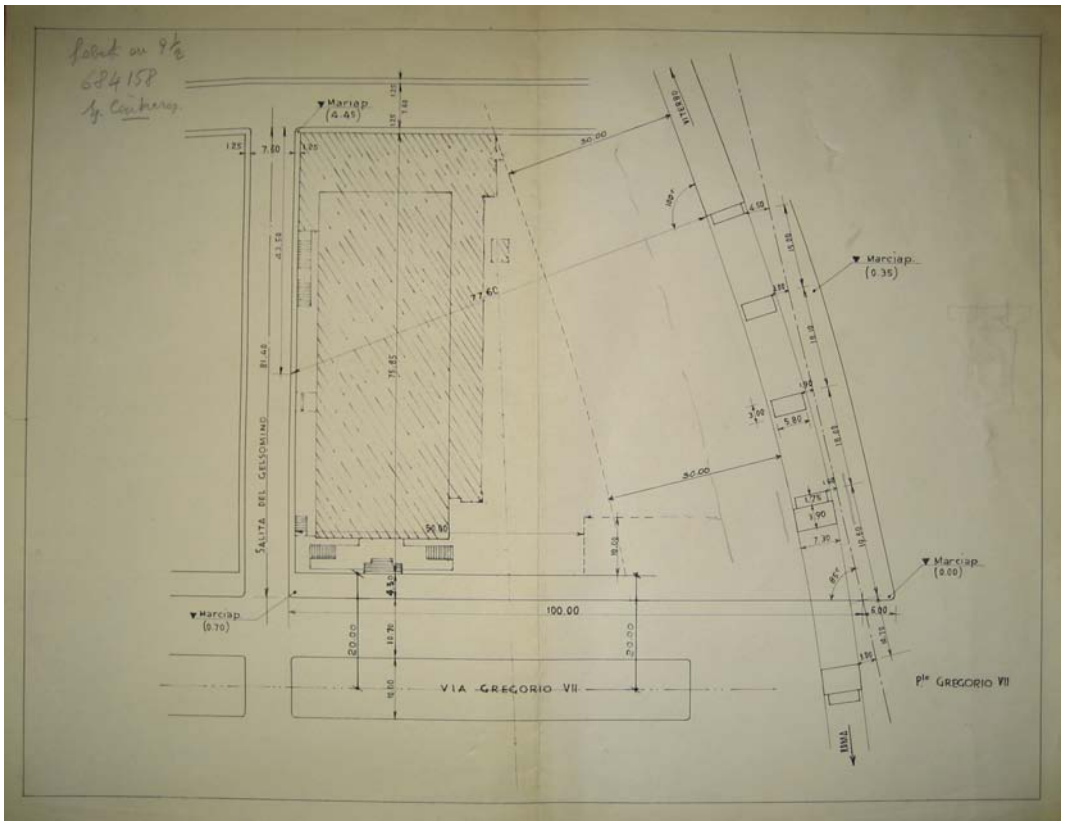

Figure 3.2: S. Gregorio VII (1957-61), by Paniconi and Pediconi.
Site plan. ACS, Paniconi e Pediconi, Box 61.

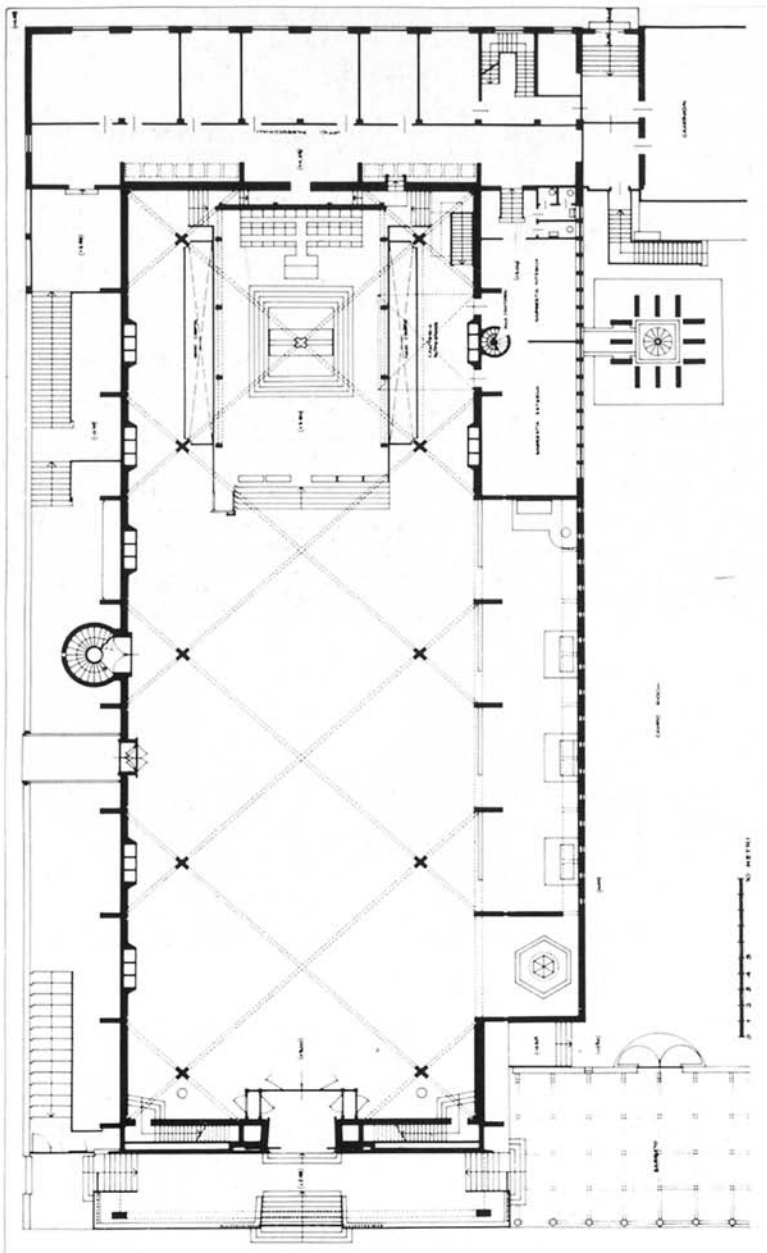

Figure 3.3: S. Gregorio VII (1957-61), by Paniconi and Pediconi.
Plan. Alessandra Muntoni, *Lo studio Paniconi e Pediconi: 1930-1984* (Rome: Kappa, 1987), 150.

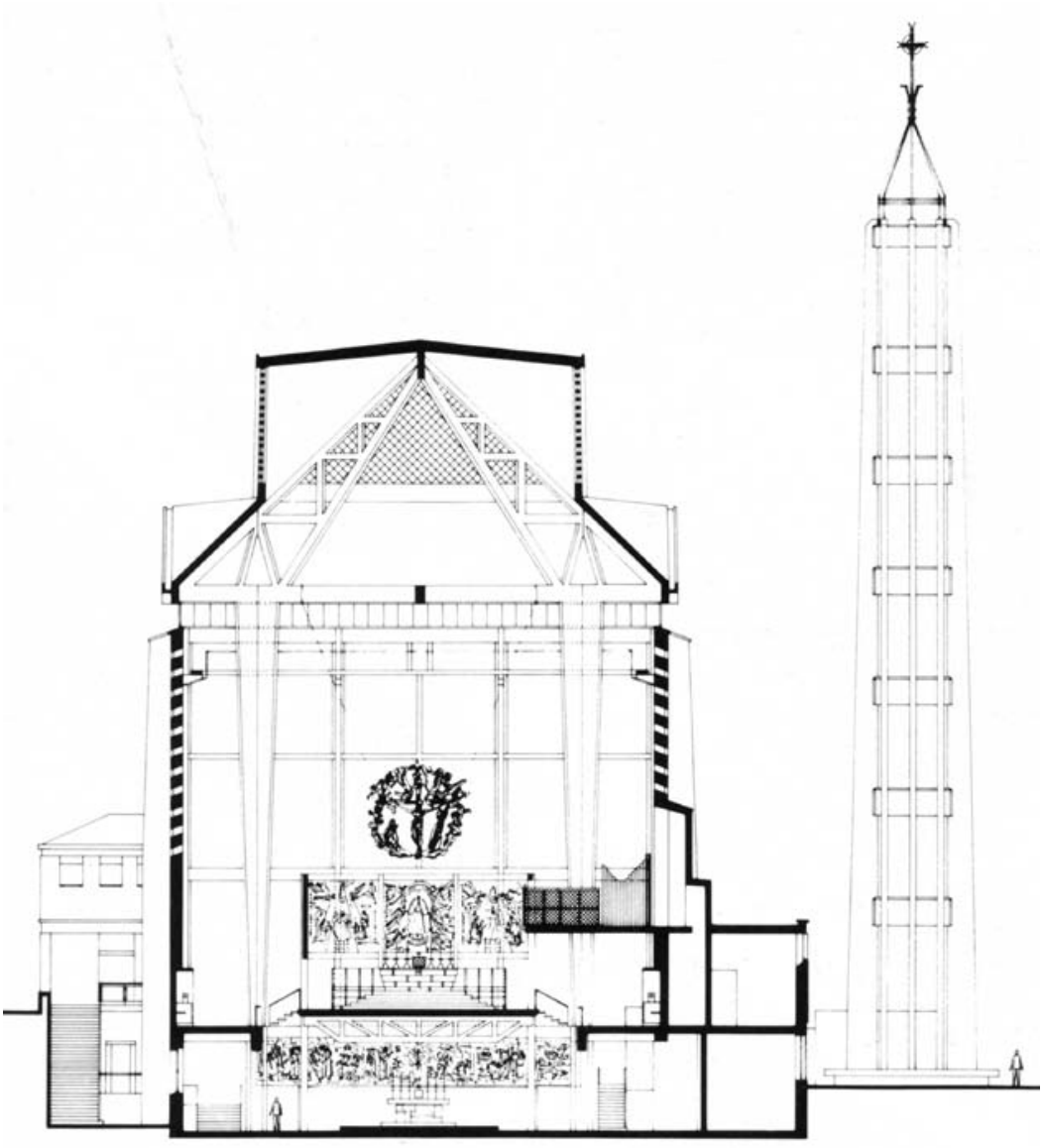

Figure 3.4: S. Gregorio VII (1957-61), by Paniconi and Pediconi.
Cross section through nave looking towards the altar. Alessandra Muntoni, *Lo studio Paniconi e Pediconi: 1930-1984* (Rome: Kappa, 1987), 151.

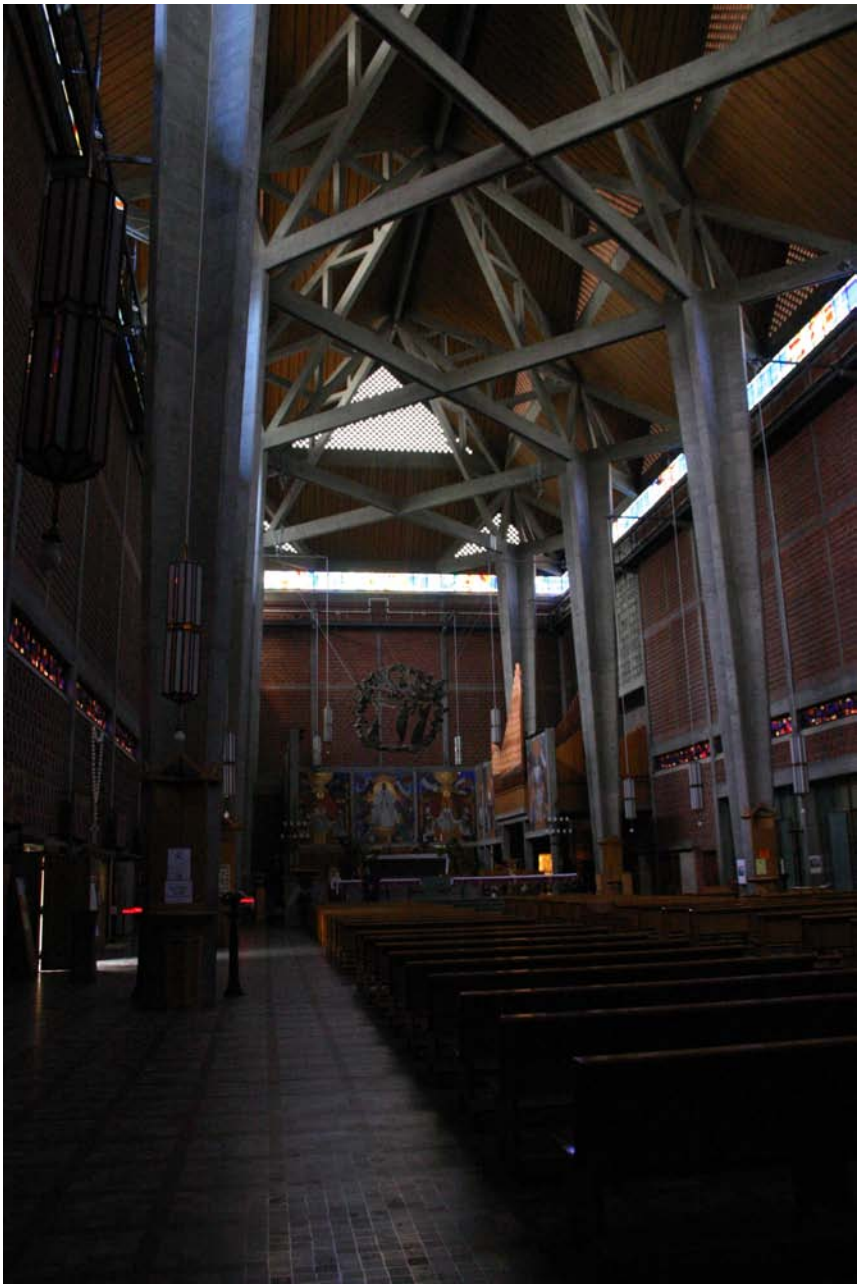

Figure 3.5: S. Gregorio VII (1957-61), by Paniconi and Pediconi. Photo by author.

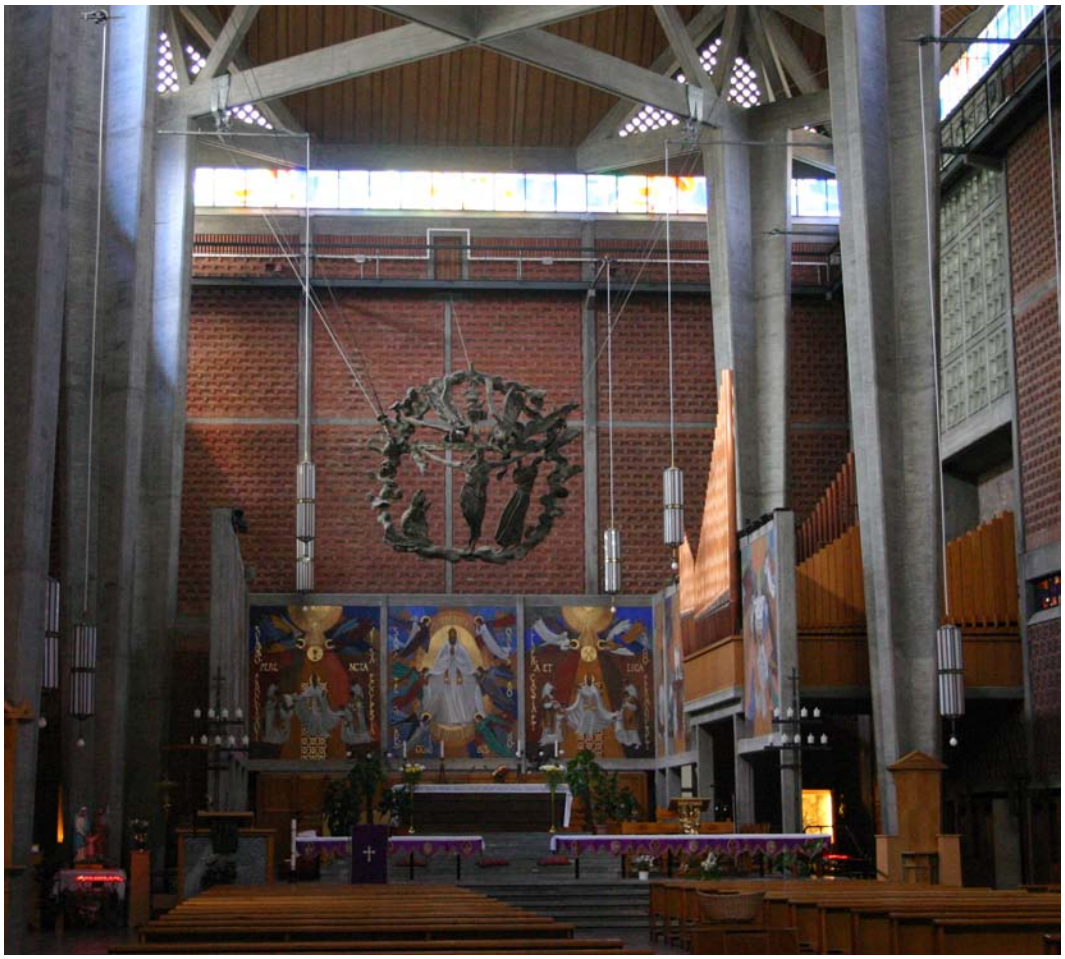

Figure 3.6: S. Gregorio VII (1957-61), by Paniconi and Pediconi.
Photo by author.

Figure 3.7: S. Gregorio VII (1957-61), by Paniconi and Pediconi.
Photo by author.

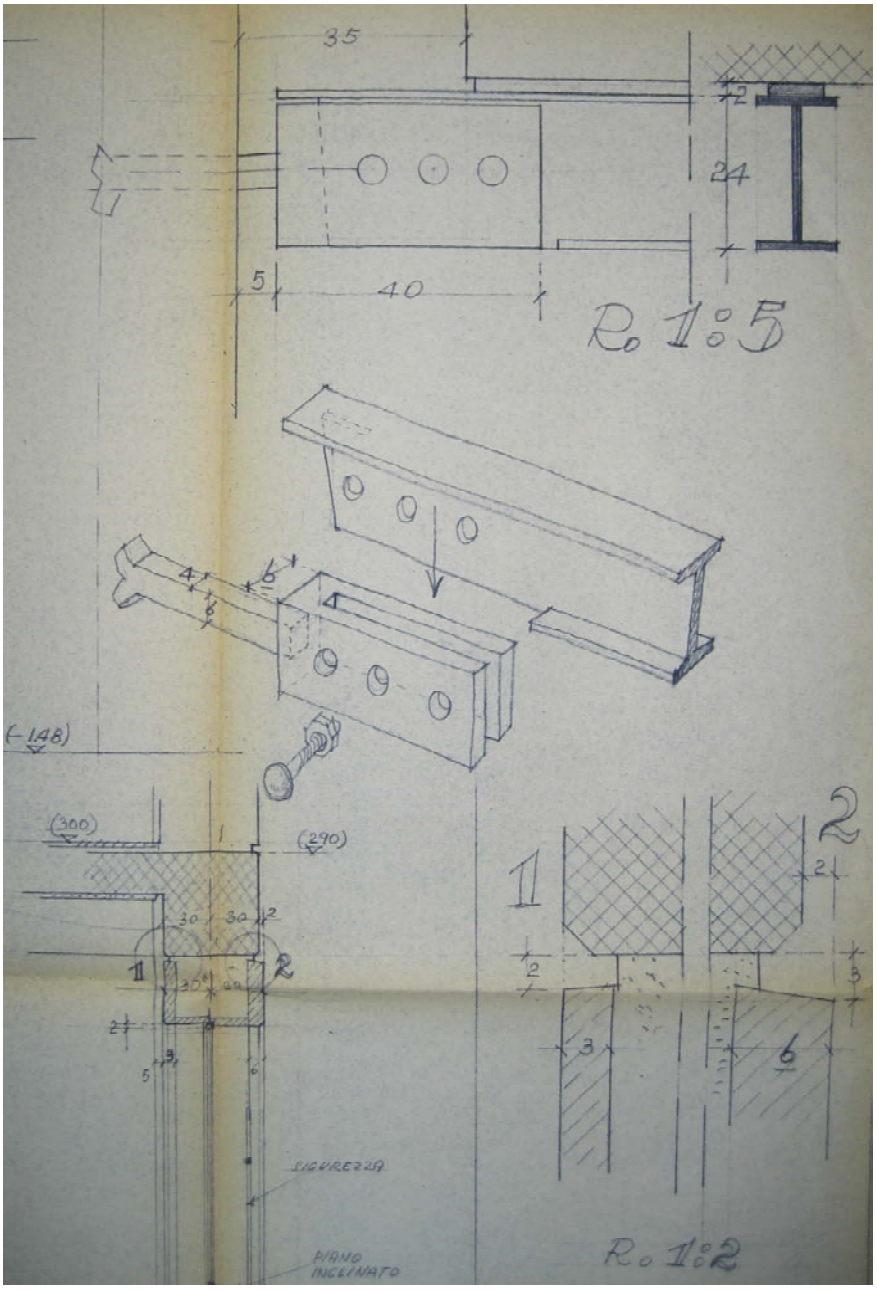

Figure 3.8: S. Gregorio VII (1957-61), by Paniconi and Pediconi.
Construction detail. ACS, Paniconi e Pediconi, Box 61.

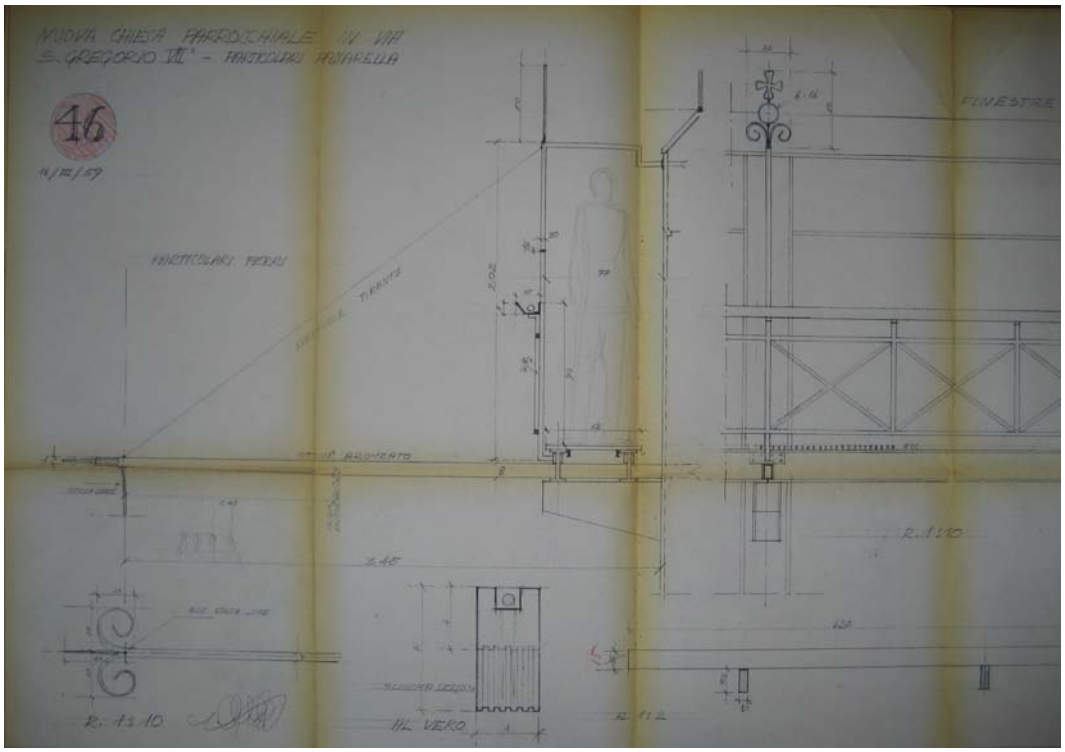

Figure 3.9: S. Gregorio VII (1957-61), by Paniconi and Pediconi.
Construction detail. ACS, Paniconi e Pediconi, Box 61.

Figure 3.10: Postcard in project files, depicting S. Rufino Cathedral, Assisi.
ACS, Paniconi e Pediconi, Box 60.

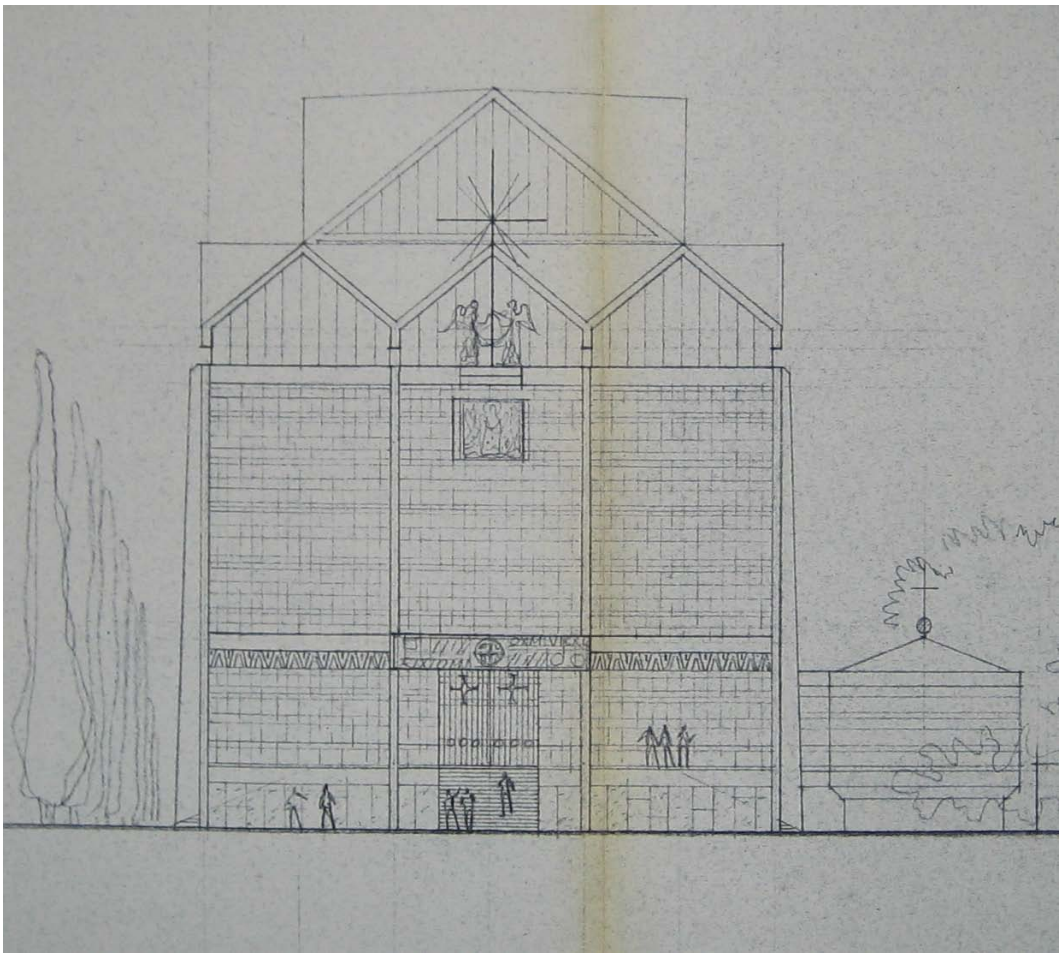

Figure 3.11: S. Gregorio VII (1957-61), by Paniconi and Pediconi.
Early façade design. ACS, Paniconi e Pediconi, Box 60.

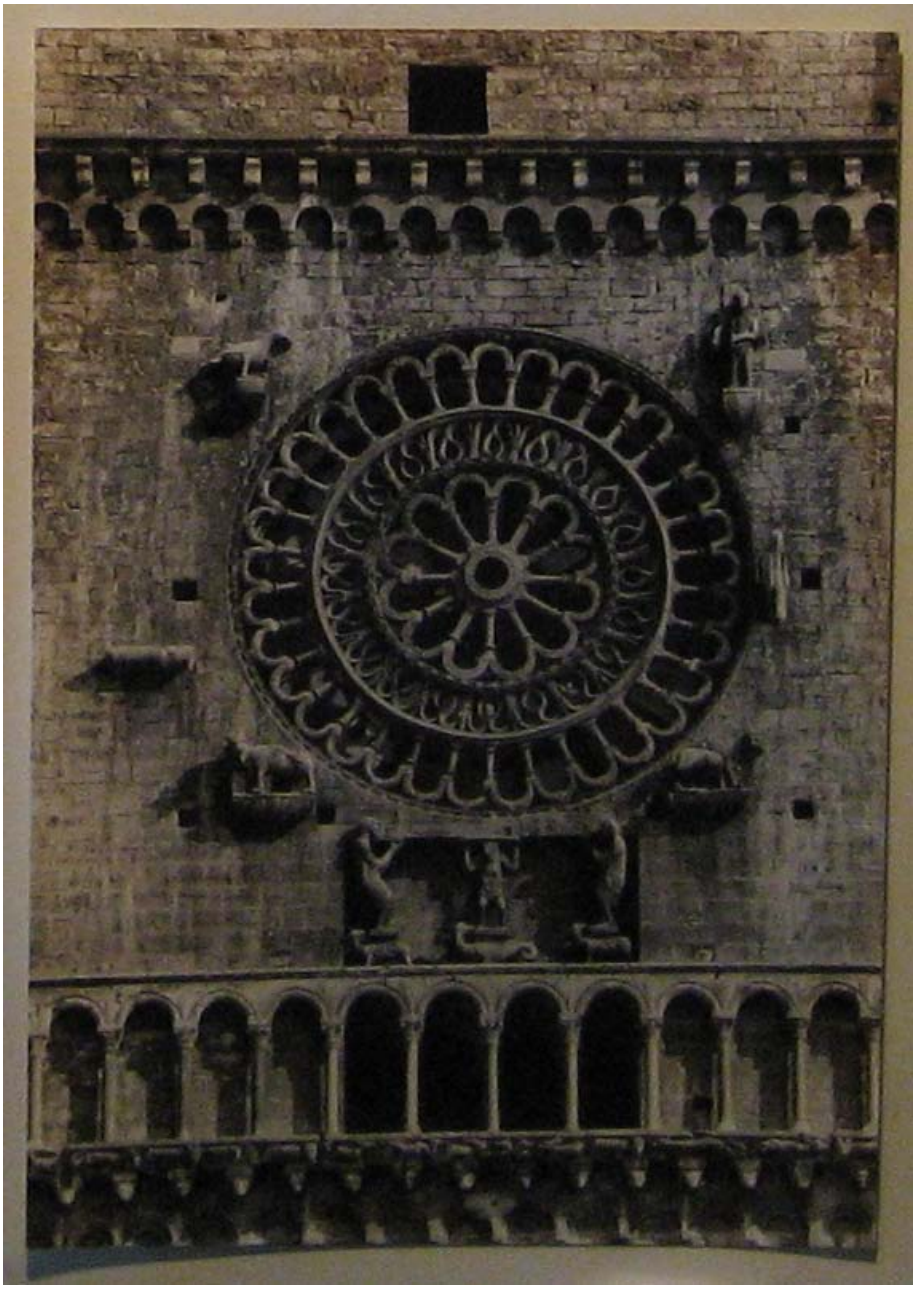

Figure 3.12: Postcard in project files, depicting S. Rufino Cathedral, Assisi.
ACS, Paniconi e Pediconi, Box 60.

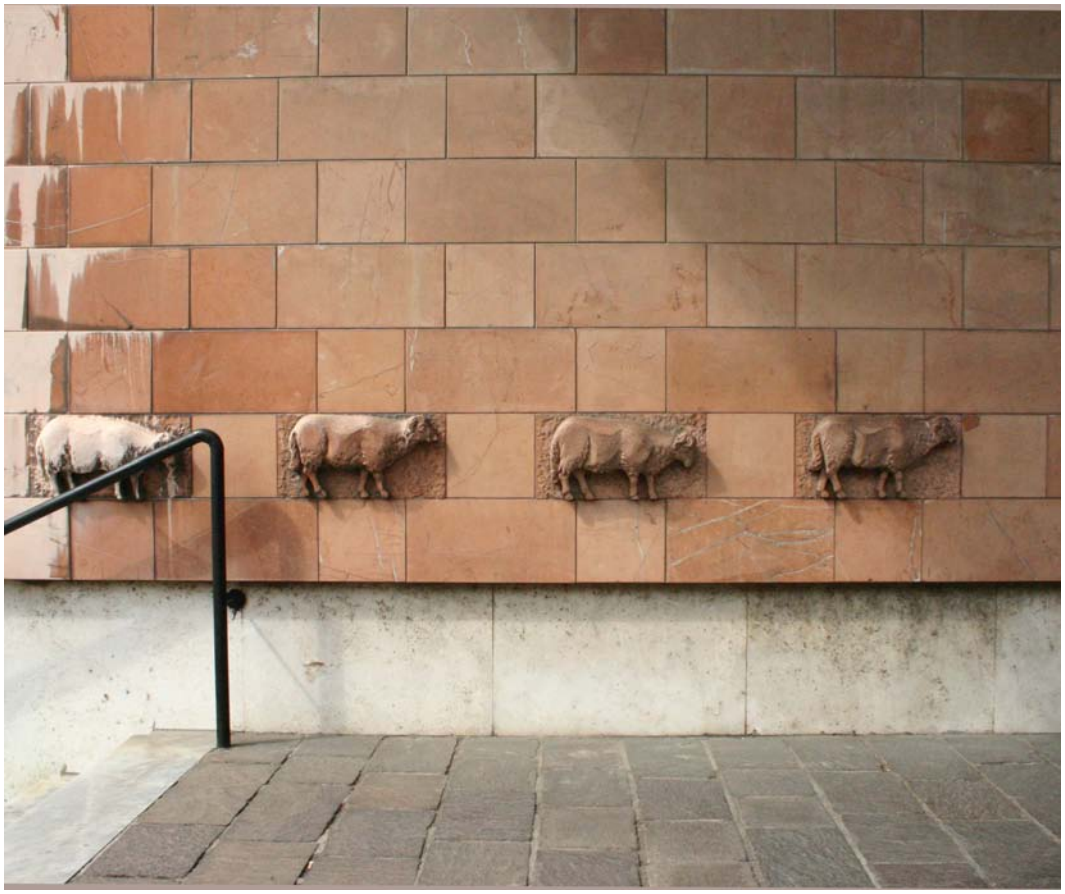

Figure 3.13: S. Gregorio VII (1957-61), by Paniconi and Pediconi.
Photo by author.

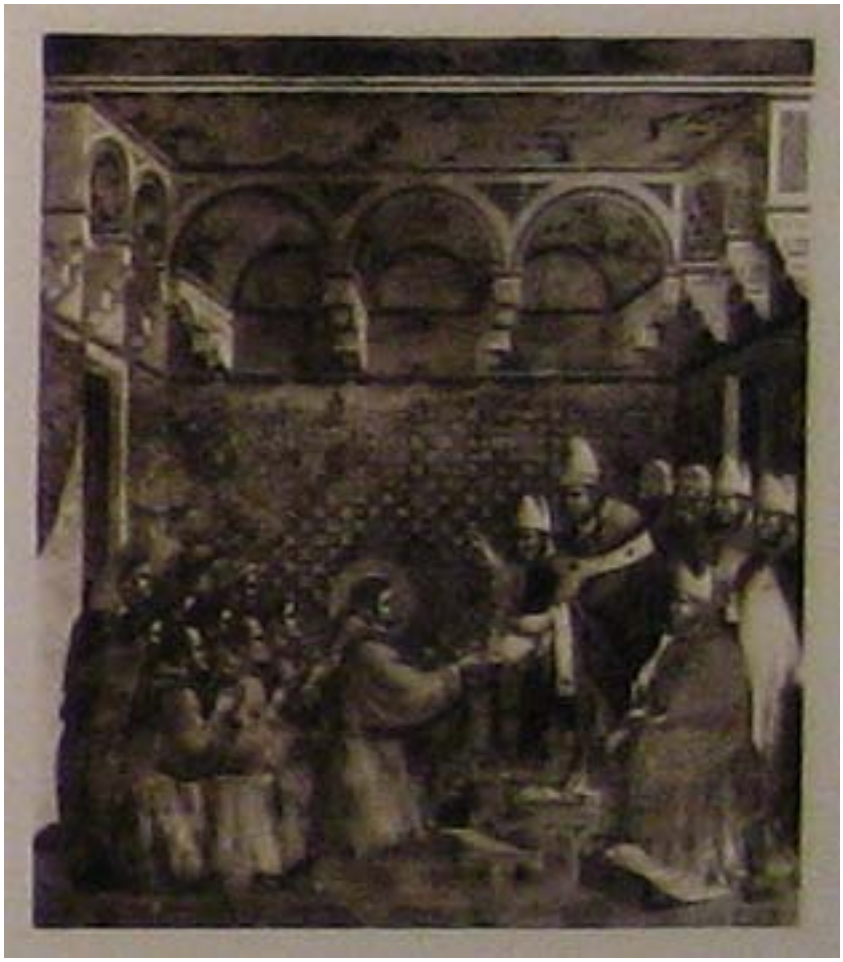

Figure 3.14: Postcard in project files, depicting Giotto's fresco, "Approval of the Rule," c. 1290, in the upper church, S. Francis Basilica, Assisi.
ACS, Paniconi e Pediconi, Box 60.

Figure 3.15: S. Gregorio VII (1957-61), by Paniconi and Pediconi.
Bas relief by Leonardo Venturini, depicting the approval of the Rule. Photo by author.

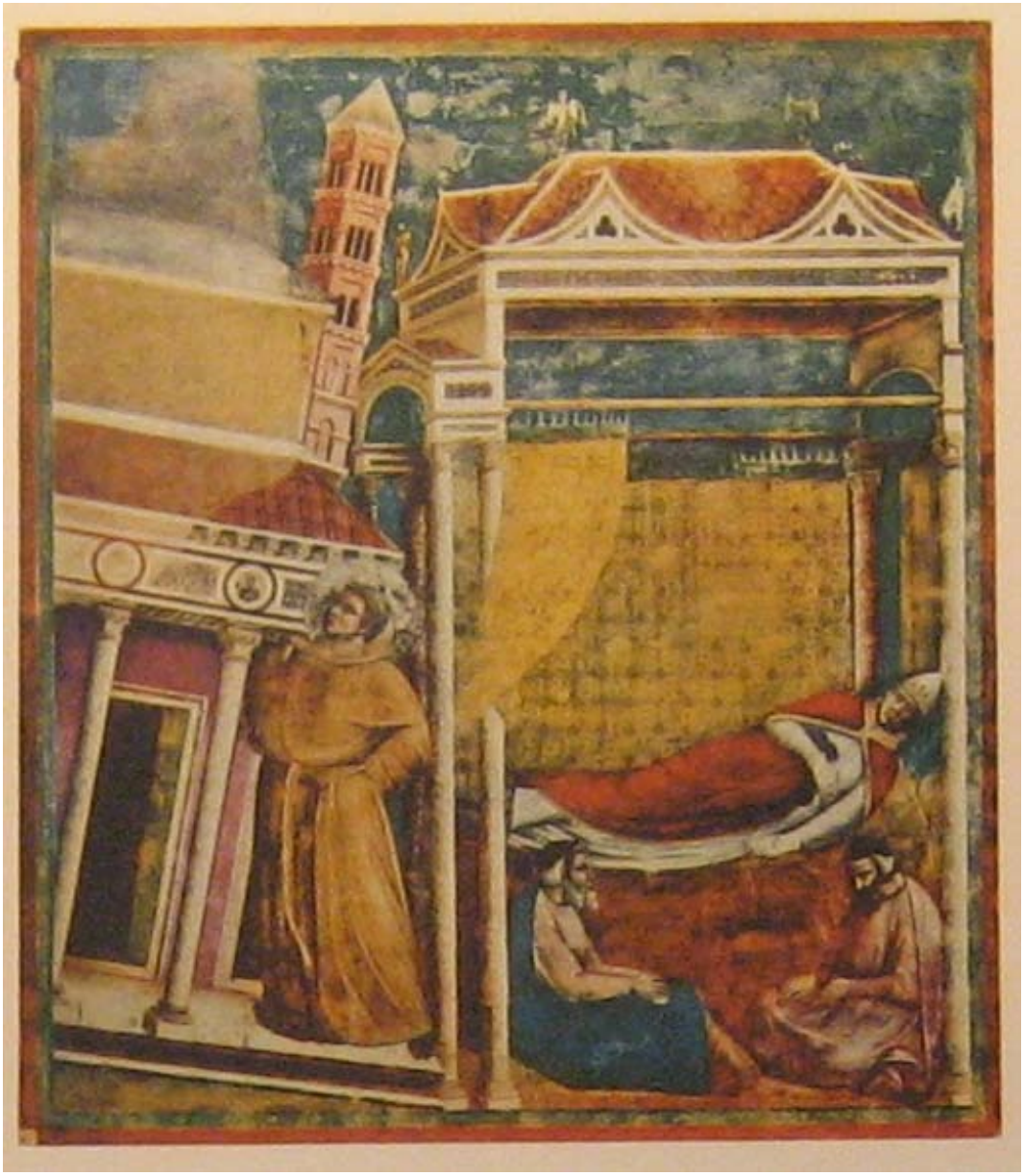

Figure 3.16: Postcard in project files, depicting Giotto's fresco, "Innocent III's Dream," c. 1290, in the upper church, S. Francis Basilica, Assisi.
ACS, Paniconi e Pediconi, Box 60.

Figure 3.17: S. Gregorio VII (1957-61), by Paniconi and Pediconi.
Bas relief by Leonardo Venturini, depicting Innocent III's dream. Photo by author.

Figure 3.18: S. Gregorio VII (1957-61), by Paniconi and Pediconi.
Photo by author.

Figure 3.19: S. Gregorio VII (1957-61), by Paniconi and Pediconi.
Photo by author.

Figure 3.20: S. Gregorio VII (1957-61), by Paniconi and Pediconi.
Photo by author.

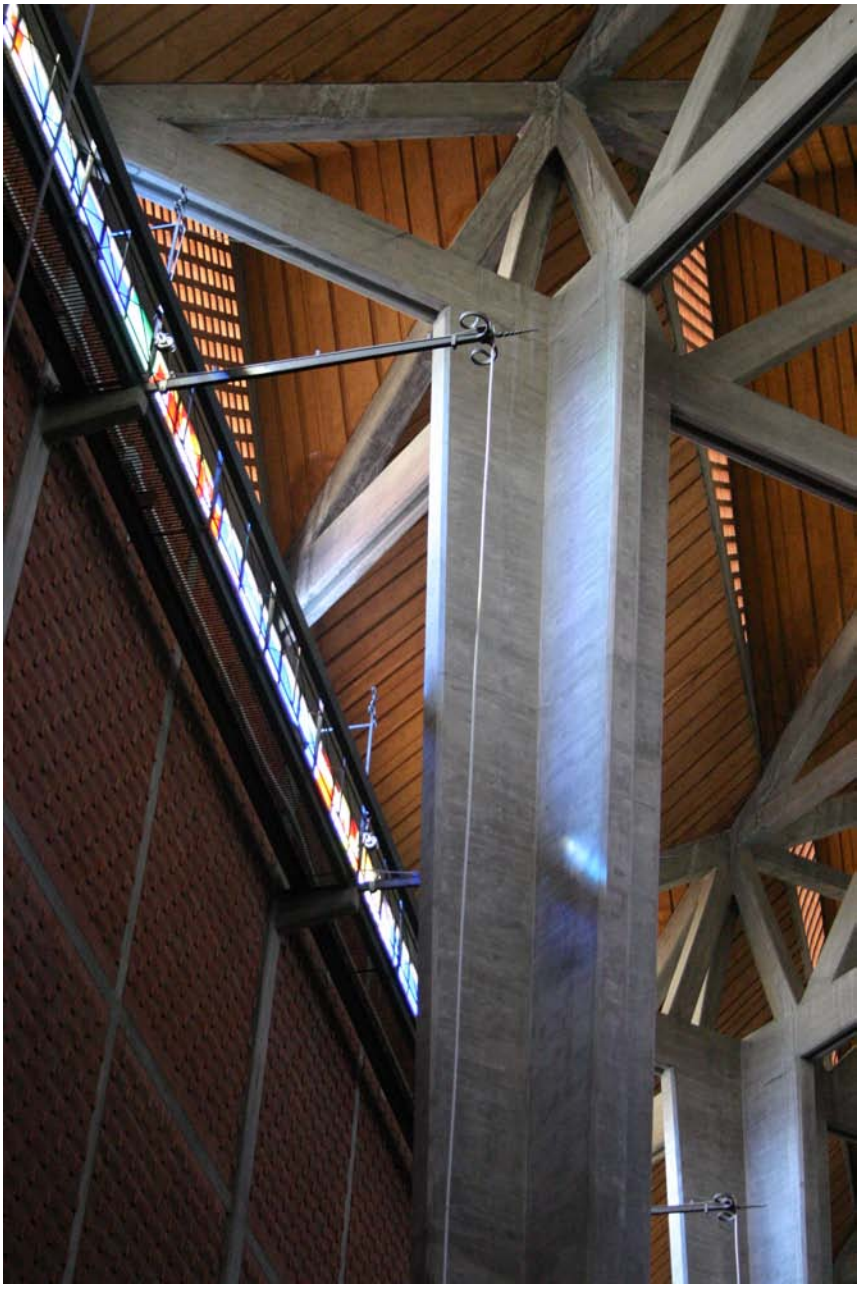

Figure 3.21: S. Gregorio VII (1957-61), by Paniconi and Pediconi.
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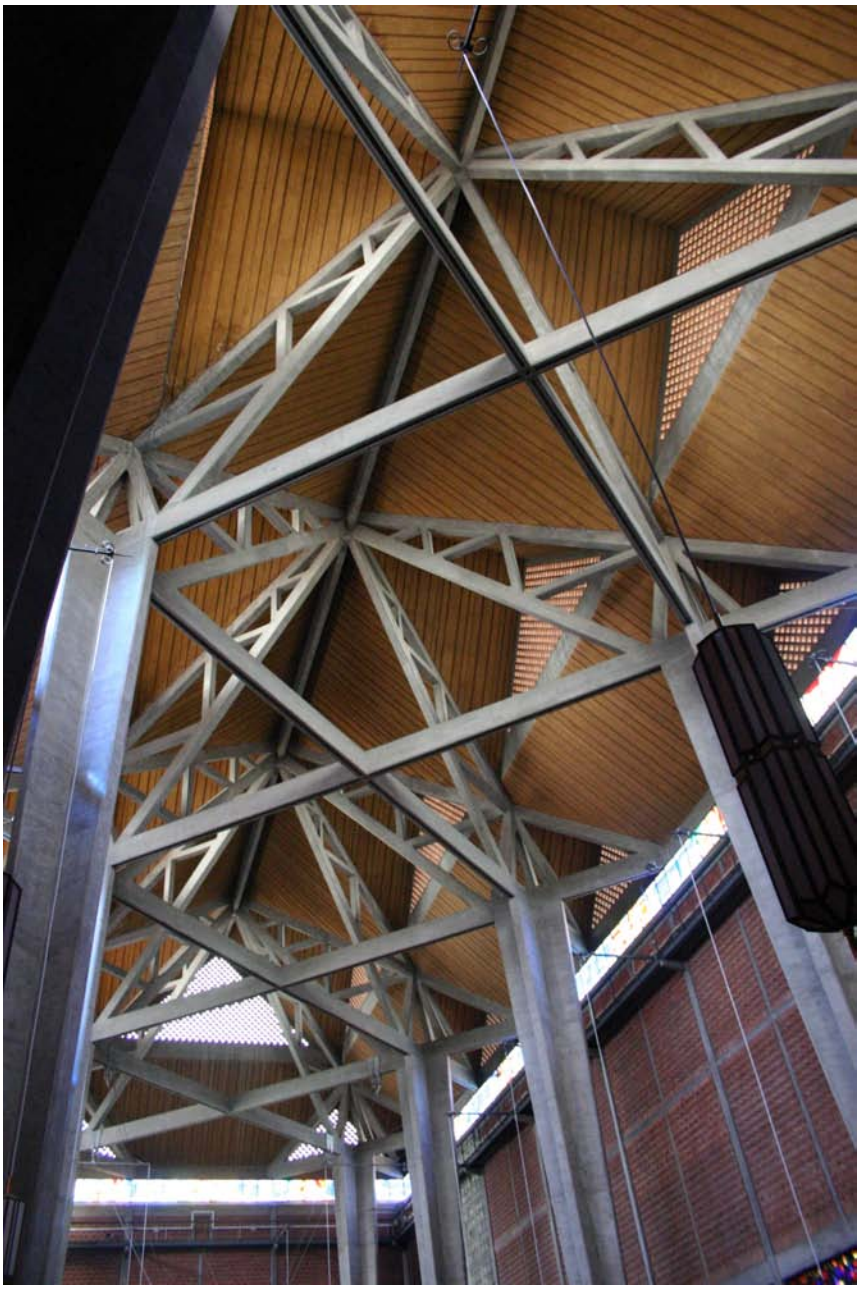


Figure 3.22: S. Gregorio VII (1957-61), by Paniconi and Pediconi.
Photo by author.

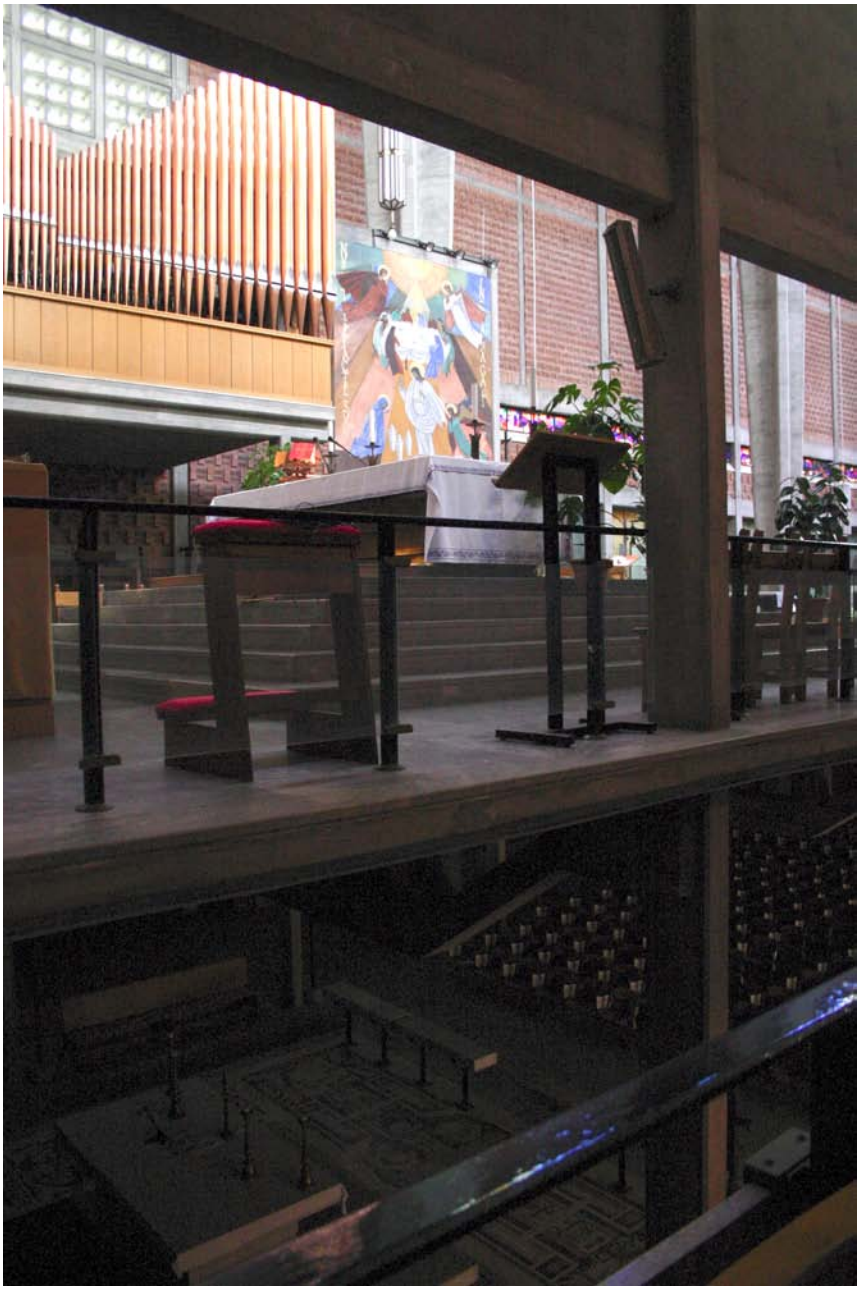


Figure 3.23: S. Gregorio VII (1957-61), by Paniconi and Pediconi. Photo by author.

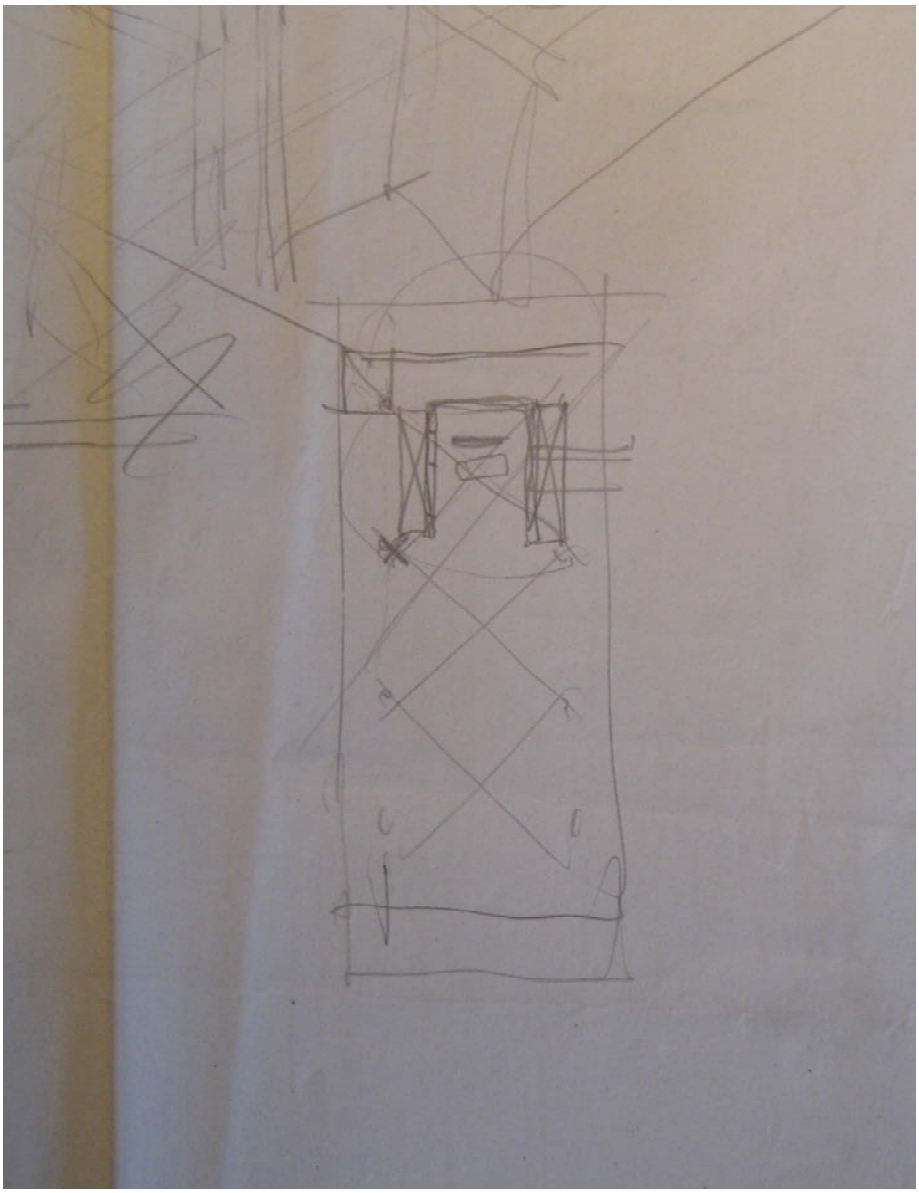


Figure 3.24: S. Gregorio VII (1957-61), by Paniconi and Pediconi. Plan concept sketch. ACS, Paniconi e Pediconi, Box 62.

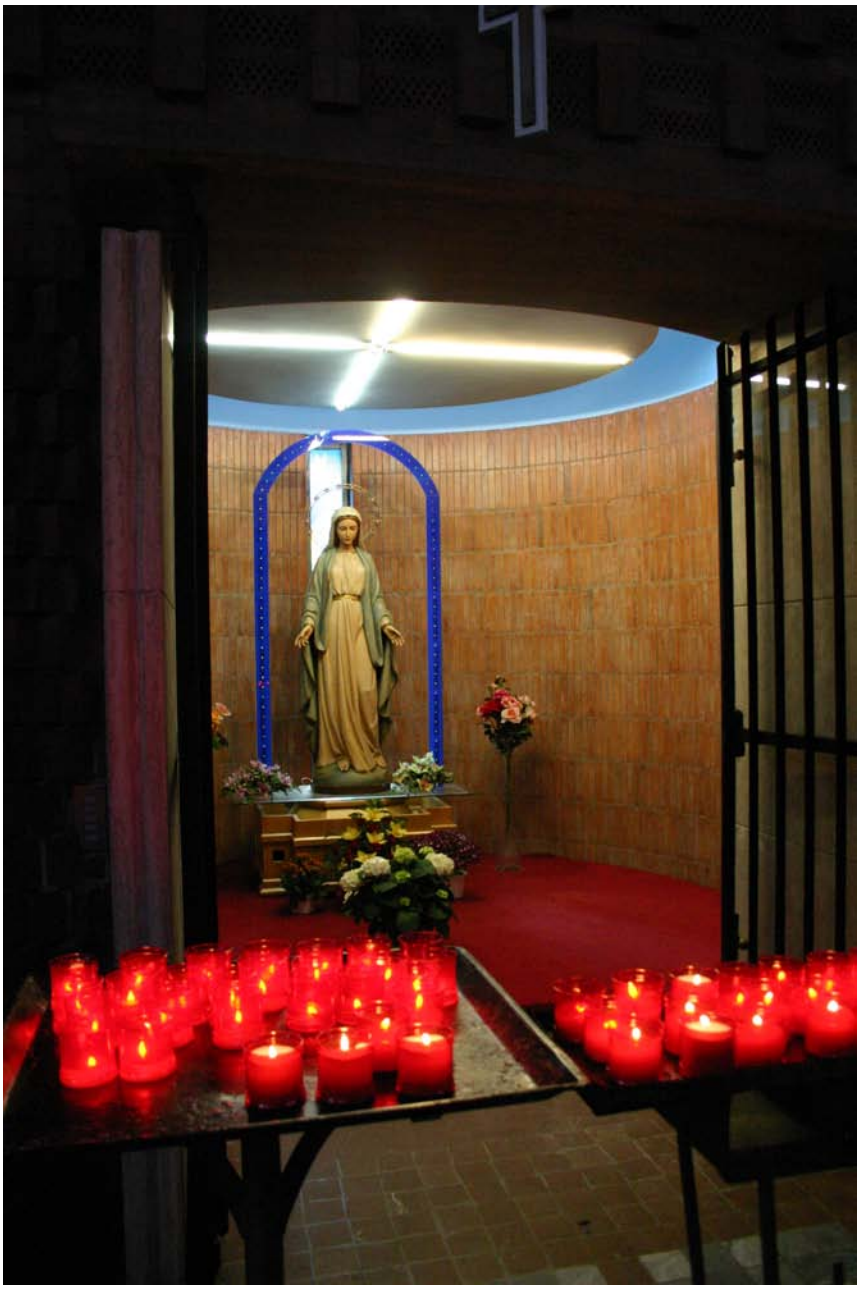


Figure 3.25: S. Gregorio VII (1957-61), by Paniconi and Pediconi.
Photo by author.

Figure 3.26: S. Gregorio VII (1957-61), by Paniconi and Pediconi.
Photo by author.

Figure 3.27: SS. Redentore (1977), by Ennio Canino.
Photo by author.

Figure 3.28: SS. Redentore (1977), by Ennio Canino.
Photo by author.

Figure 3.29: S. Pio V (1952), by Tullio Rossi.
Photo by author.

Figure 3.30: S. Pio V (1952), by Tullio Rossi.
Photo by author.

Figure 3.31: S. Maria della Mercede (1958), by Marco Piloni. Photo by author.

Figure 3.32: S. Maria della Mercede (1958), by Marco Piloni. Photo by author.

Figure 3.33: S. Francesco d'Assisi ad Acilla (1960), by Passarelli Studio. Photo by author.

Figure 3.34: S. Francesco d'Assisi ad Acilla (1960), by Passarelli Studio. Photo by author.

Figure 3.35: Chiesa dei Martiri Canadesi (1952-55), by Bruno Maria Apollonj-Ghetti. Photo by author.

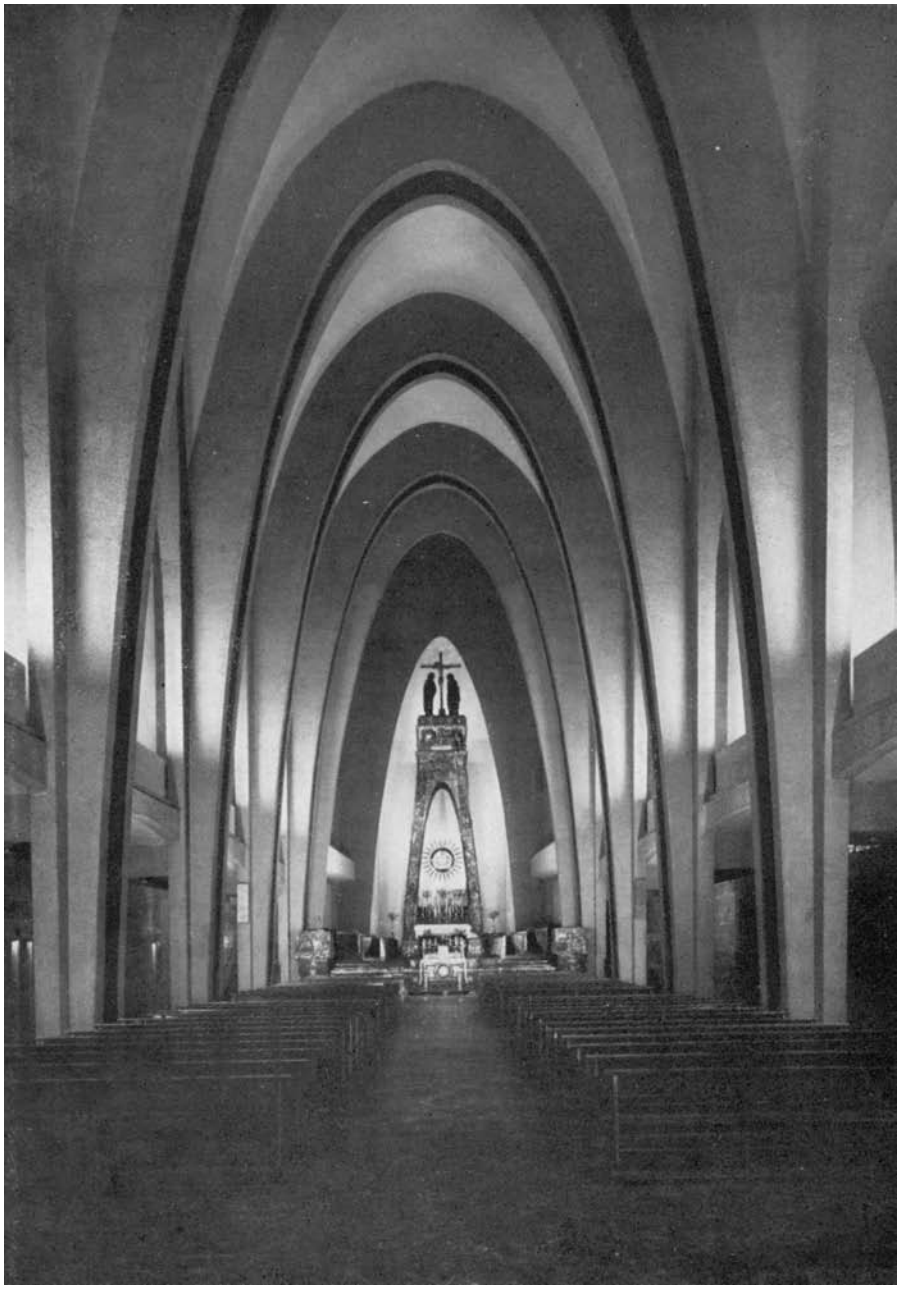


Figure 3.36: Chiesa dei Martiri Canadesi (1952-55), by Bruno Maria Apollonj-Ghetti. Carlo Ceschi, *Le chiese di Roma dagli inizi del Neoclassico al 1961* (Bologna: Cappelli, 1963), 278.

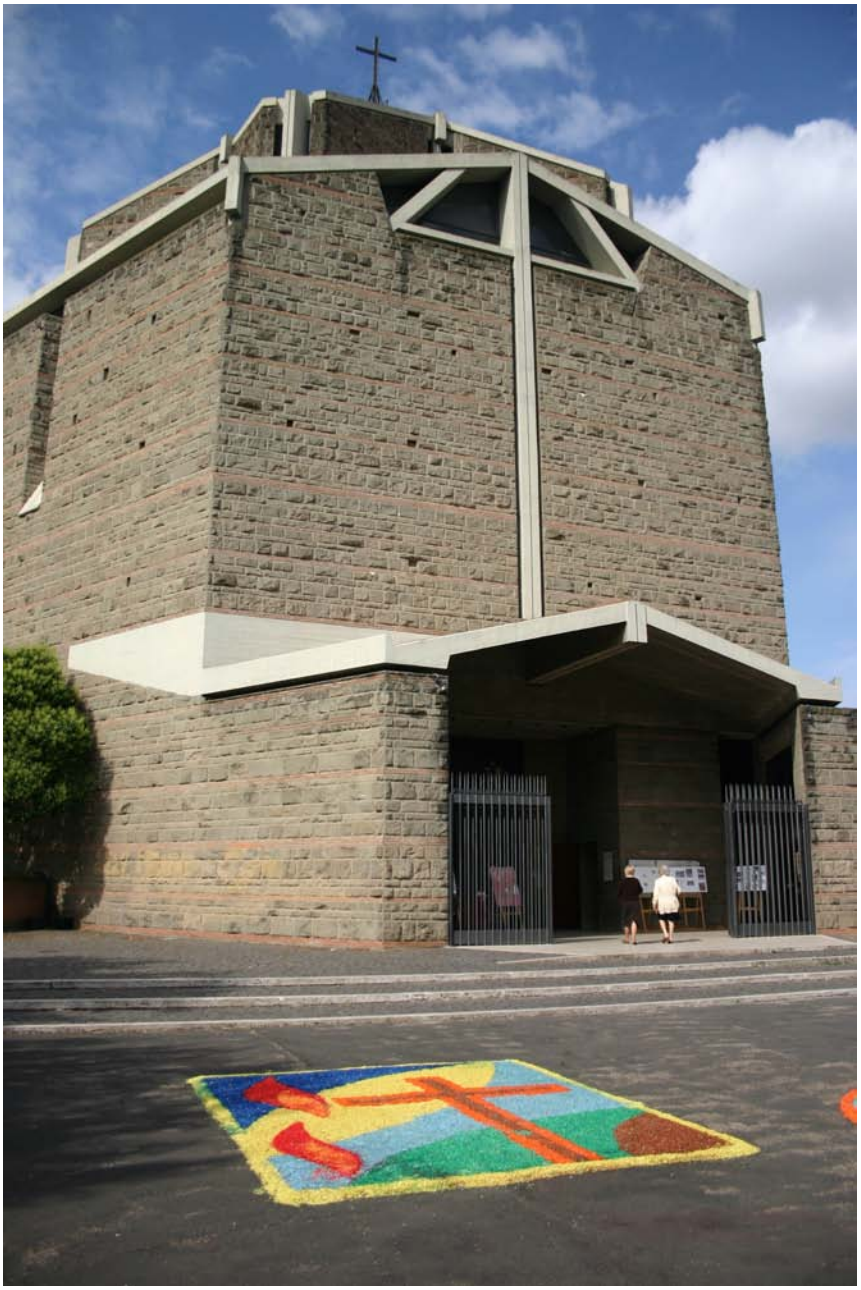


Figure 4.1: S. Policarpo (1960-67), by Giuseppe Nicolosi.
Photo by author.

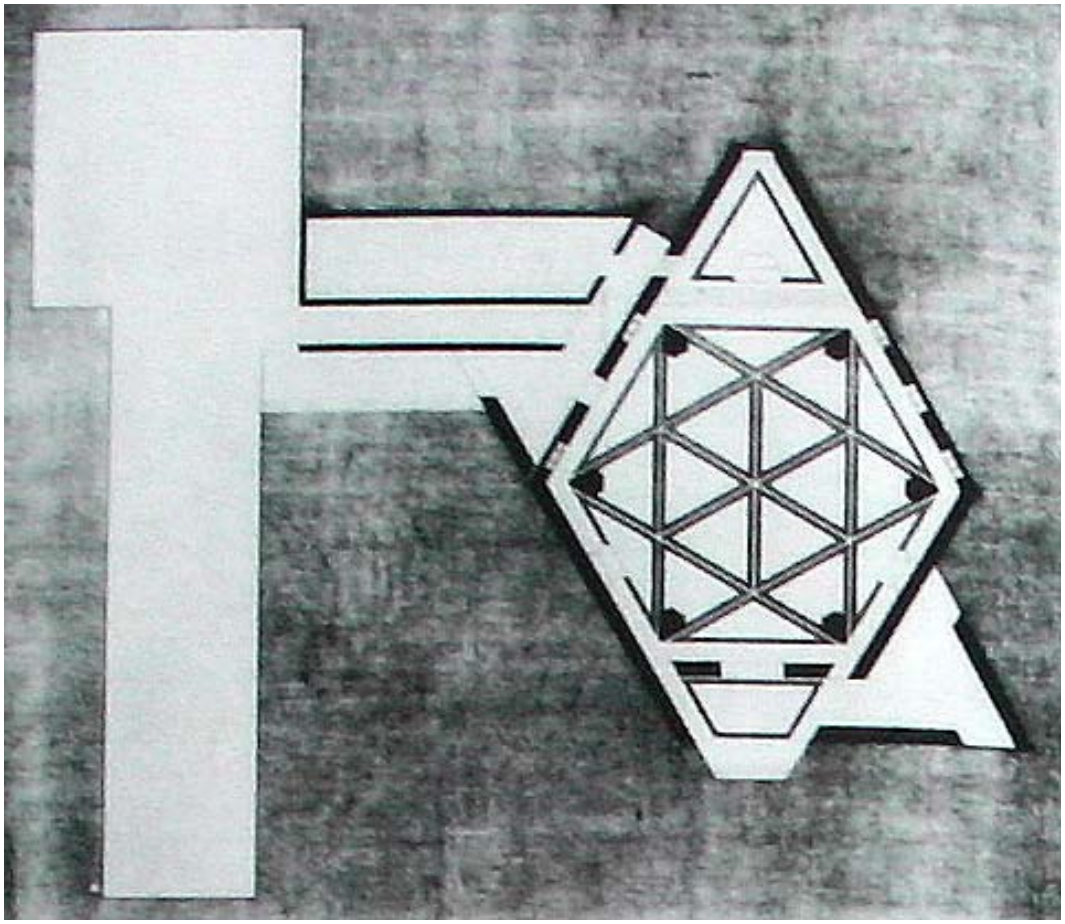


Figure 4.2: S. Policarpo (1960-67), by Giuseppe Nicolosi.
Plan, n.d. Nicolosi Archive, courtesy of Stefania Nicolosi, Rome.

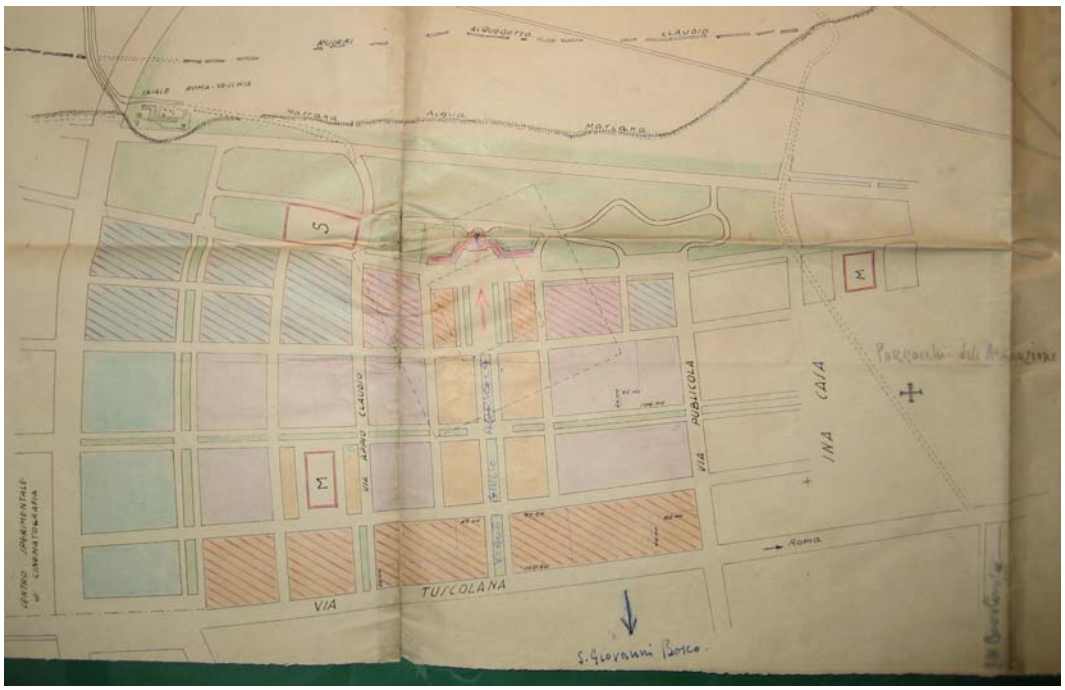


Figure 4.3: S. Policarpo (1960-67), by Giuseppe Nicolosi.
Vicinity plan, n.d. Nicolosi Archive, courtesy of Stefania Nicolosi, Rome.

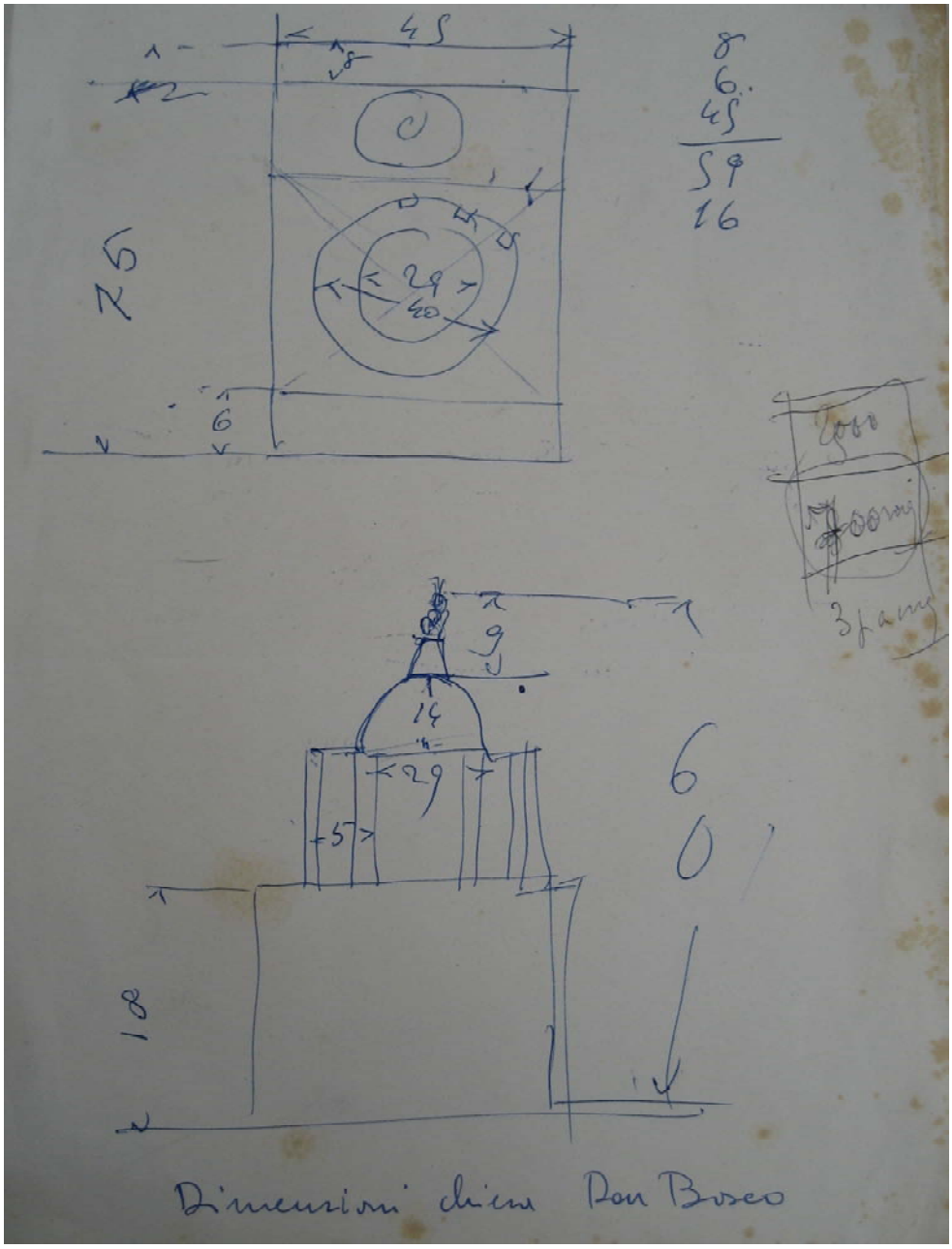


Figure 4.4: S. Policarpo (1960-67), by Giuseppe Nicolosi.
Notes on S. Giovanni Bosco, n.d. Nicolosi Archive, courtesy of Stefania Nicolosi, Rome

Figure 4.5: S. Policarpo (1960-67), by Giuseppe Nicolosi.
Photo by Maria Argenti.

Figure 4.6: S. Policarpo (1960-67), by Giuseppe Nicolosi.
Photo by author.

Figure 4.7: S. Policarpo (1960-67), by Giuseppe Nicolosi.
Photo by author.

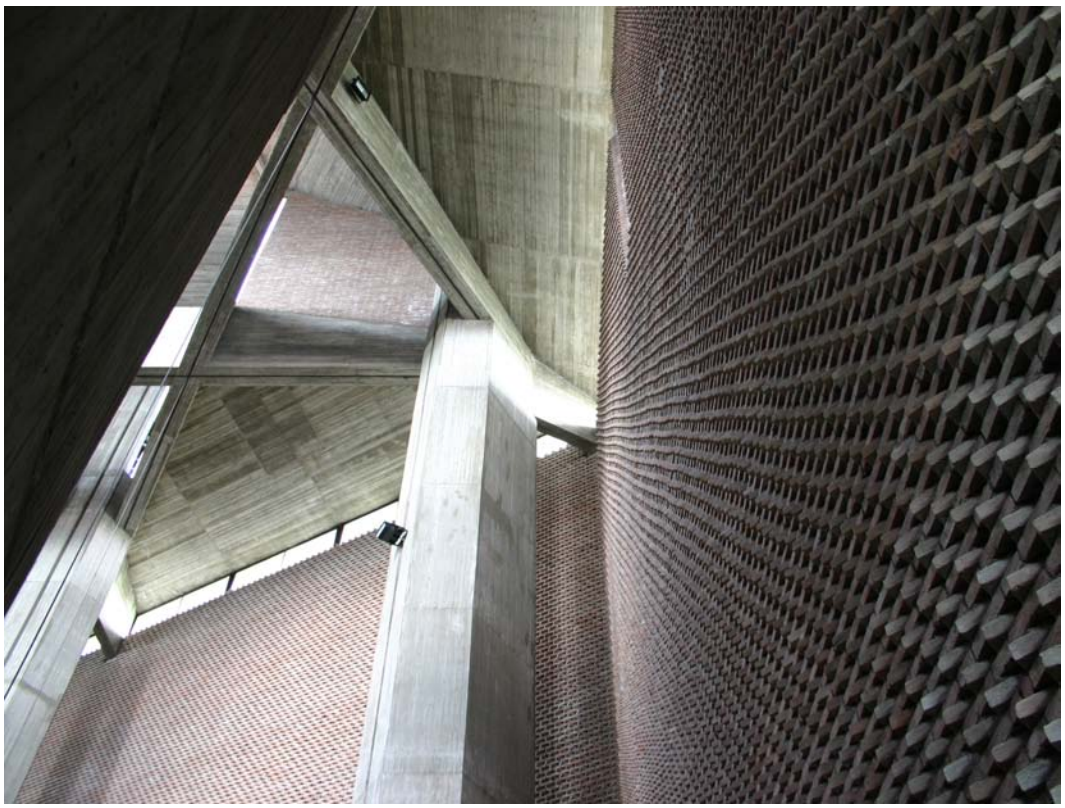


Figure 4.8: S. Policarpo (1960-67), by Giuseppe Nicolosi.
Photo by author.

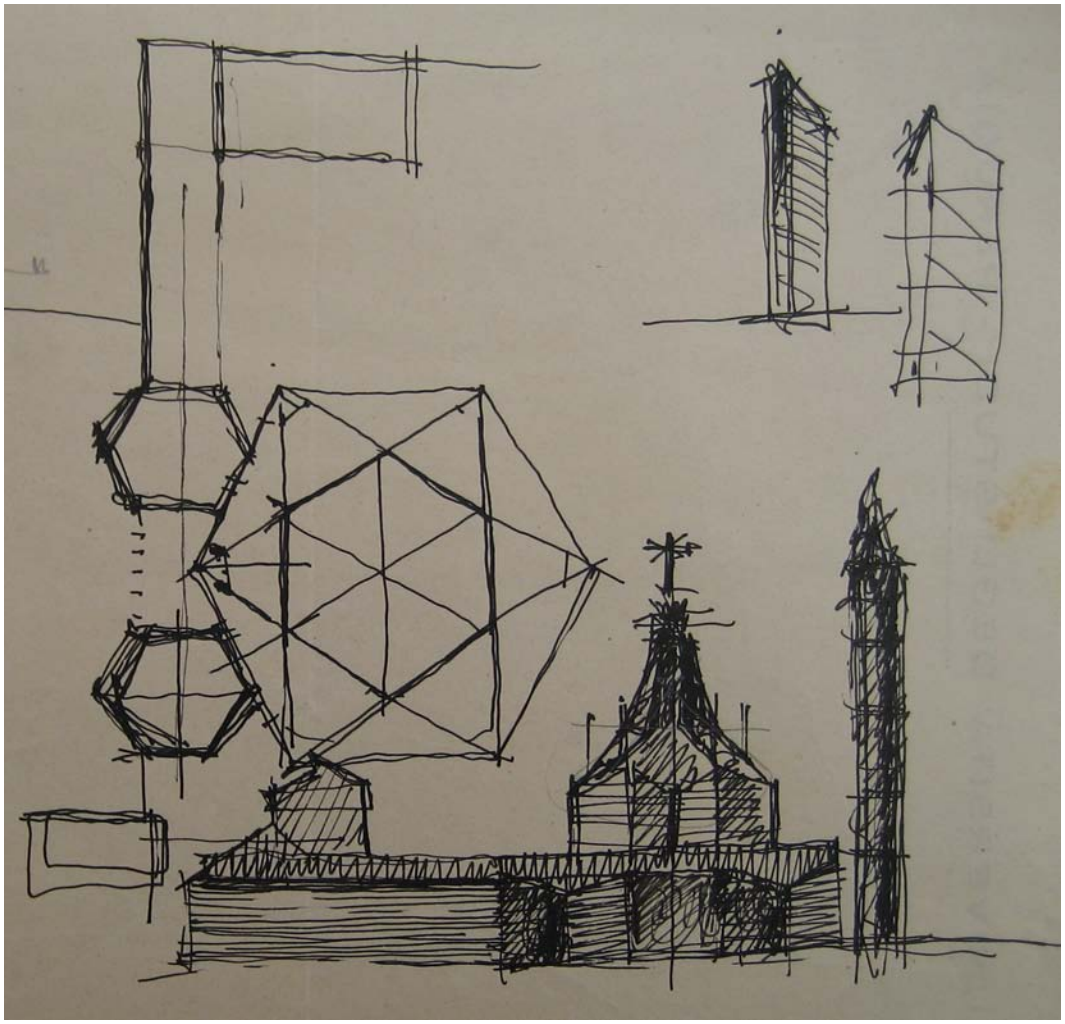


Figure 4.9: S. Policarpo (1960-67), by Giuseppe Nicolosi.
Design sketches, n.d. Nicolosi Archive, courtesy of Stefania Nicolosi, Rome.

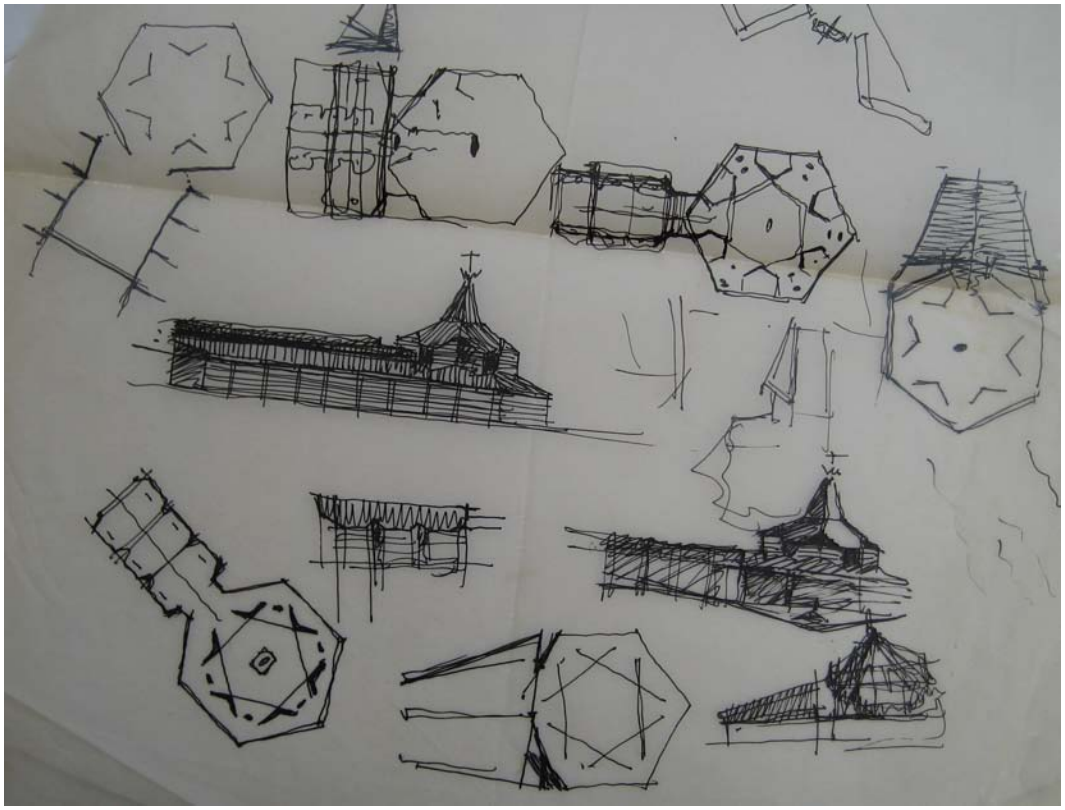


Figure 4.10: S. Policarpo (1960-67), by Giuseppe Nicolosi.
Design sketches, n.d. Nicolosi Archive, courtesy of Stefania Nicolosi, Rome.

Figure 4.11: S. Policarpo (1960-67), by Giuseppe Nicolosi.
Photo by author.

Figure 4.12: S. Policarpo (1960-67), by Giuseppe Nicolosi.
Photo by author.

Figure 4.13: S. Policarpo (1960-67), by Giuseppe Nicolosi.
Photo by author.

Figure 4.14: S. Policarpo (1960-67), by Giuseppe Nicolosi.
Photo by author.

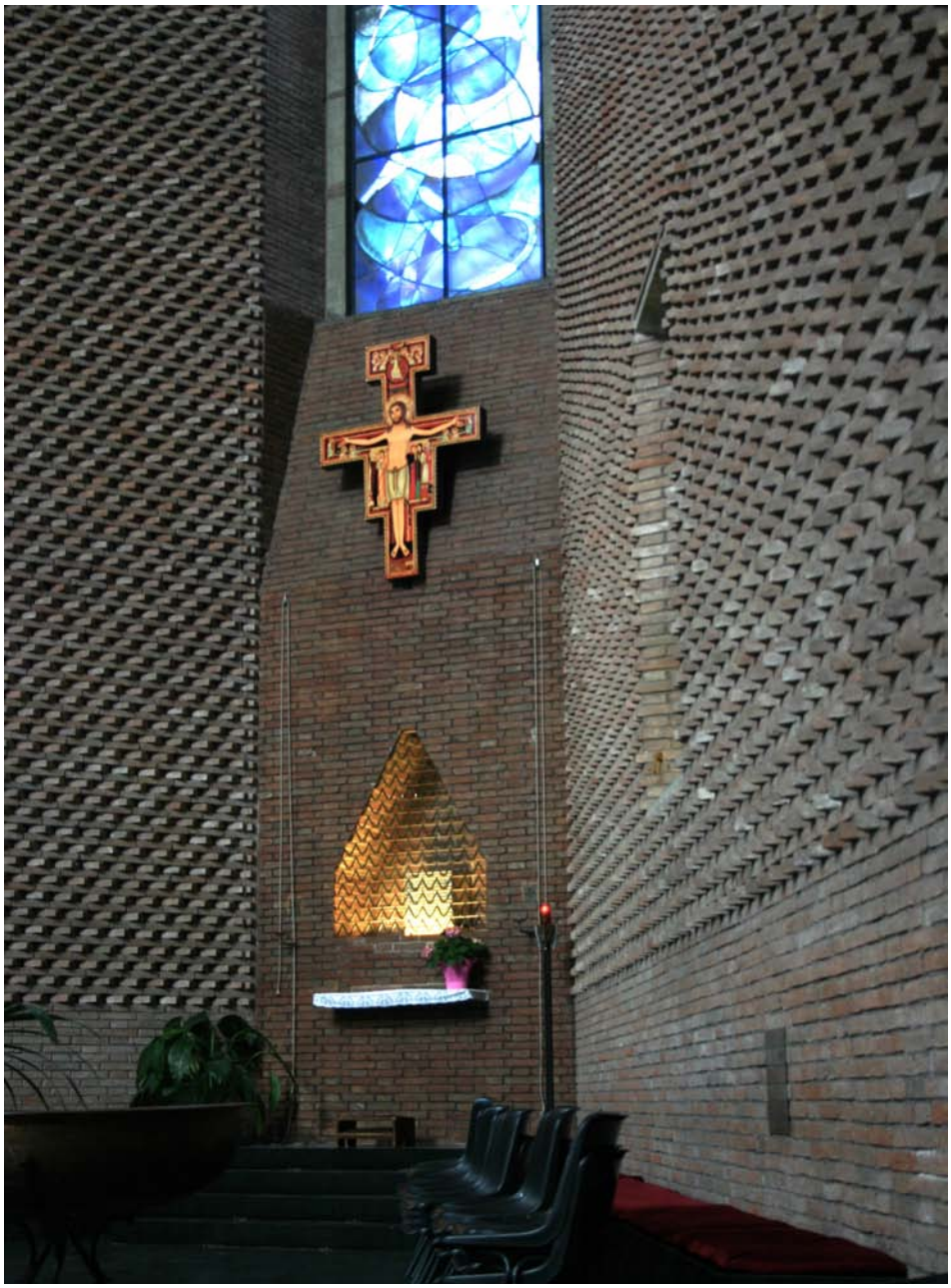


Figure 4.15: S. Policarpo (1960-67), by Giuseppe Nicolosi.
Photo by author.

Figure 4.16: S. Policarpo (1960-67), by Giuseppe Nicolosi.
Photo by author.

Figure 4.17: S. Policarpo (1960-67), by Giuseppe Nicolosi.
Photo by author.

Figure 4.18: S. Policarpo (1960-67), by Giuseppe Nicolosi.
Photo by author.

Figure 4.19: S. Policarpo (1960-67), by Giuseppe Nicolosi.
Historic photograph, n.d. Nicolosi Archive, courtesy of Stefania Nicolosi, Rome.

Figure 4.20: S. Policarpo (1960-67), by Giuseppe Nicolosi.
Photo by author.

Figure 4.21: S. Policarpo (1960-67), by Giuseppe Nicolosi.
Photo by author.

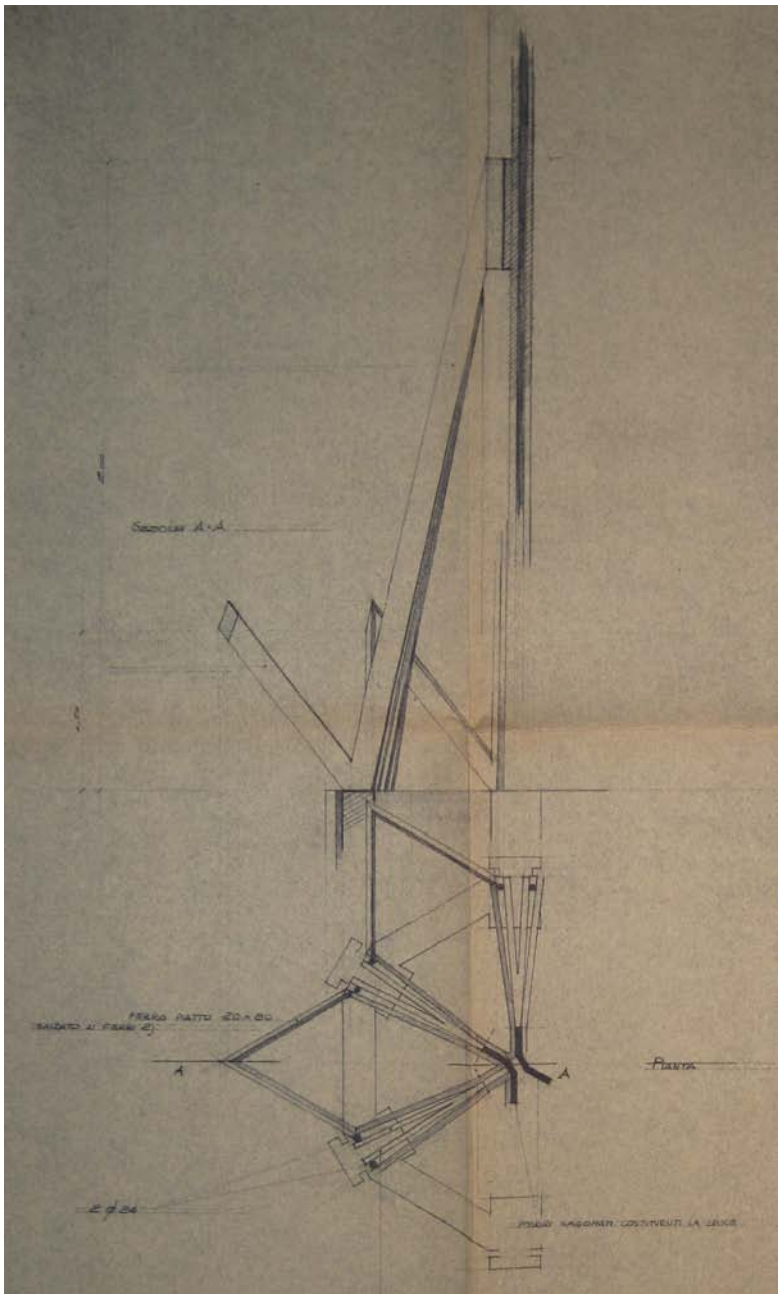


Figure 4.22: S. Policarpo (1960-67), by Giuseppe Nicolosi.
Design drawing of roof cross, n.d. Nicolosi Archive, courtesy of Stefania Nicolosi, Rome.

Figure 4.23: S. Ambrogio (1973), by Paolo Rebbechini.
Photo by author.

Figure 4.24: S. Ambrogio (1973), by Paolo Rebbechini.
Photo by author.

Figure 4.25: Nostra Signora de la Salette (1960), by Ennio Canino and Vivinia Rizzi. Photo by author.

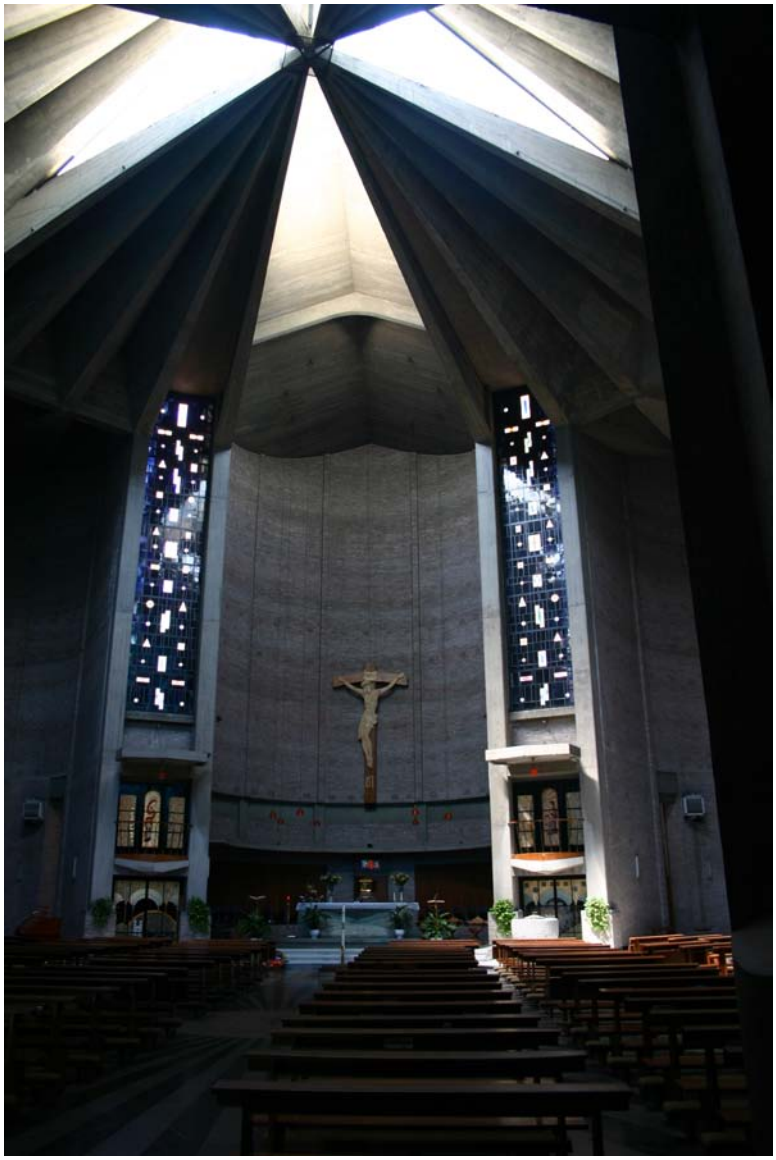


Figure 4.26: Nostra Signora de la Salette (1960), by Ennio Canino and Vivinia Rizzi. Photo by author.

Figure 4.27: S. Leone Magno (1950), by Giuseppe Zander.
Photo by author.

Figure 4.28: S. Leone Magno (1950), by Giuseppe Zander.
Photo by author.

Figure 5.1: Sacrario dei Martiri, Foro Mussolini (1940-41), by Luigi Moretti.
Federico Bucci, Marina DeConciliis, and Marco Mulazzani. *Luigi Moretti: Works and Writings*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2002, 72.

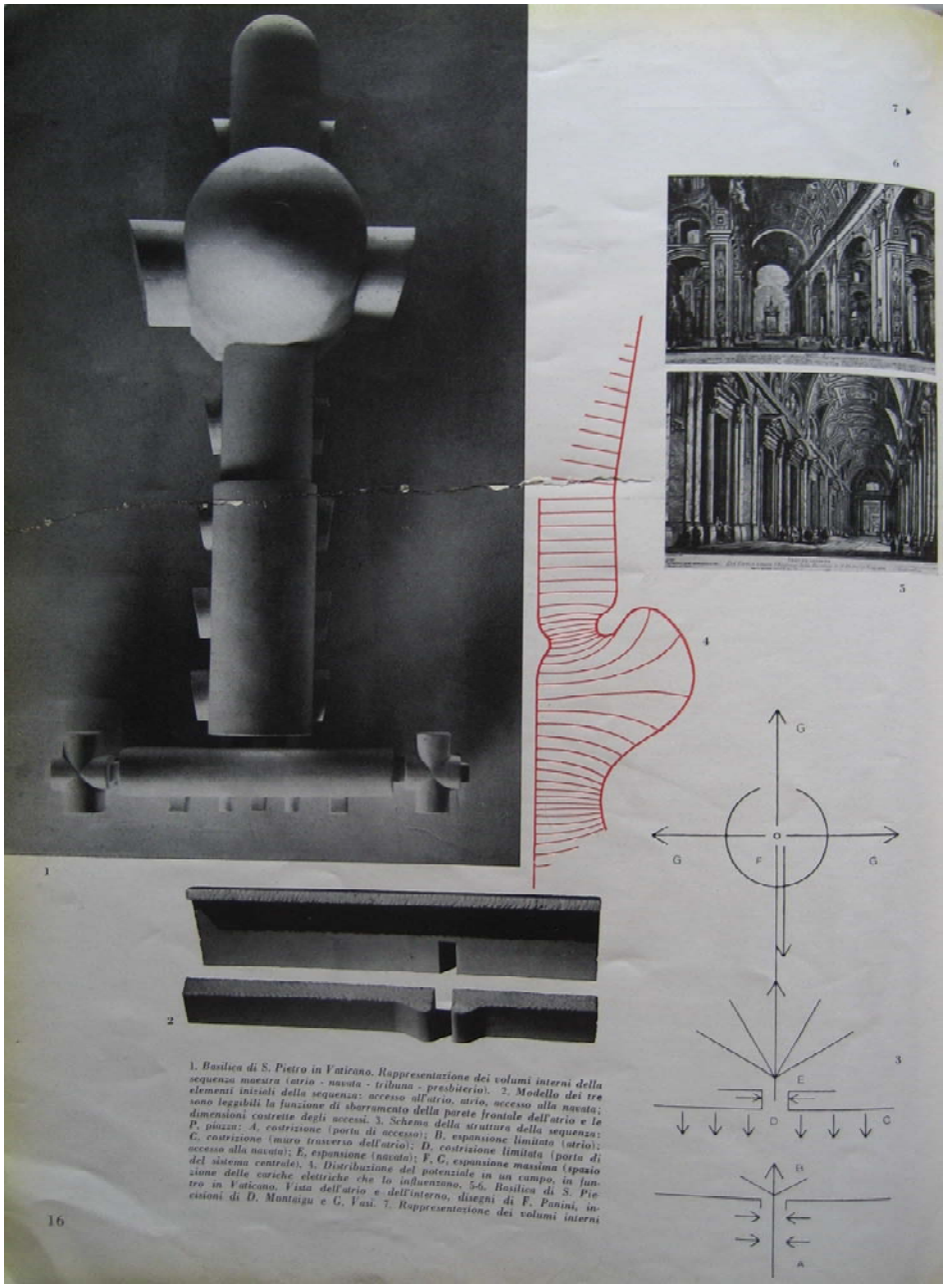


Figure 5.2: Spatial analysis, Luigi Moretti, "Strutture e sequenze di spazi," *Spazio* 7 (December-April 1952-53): 16.

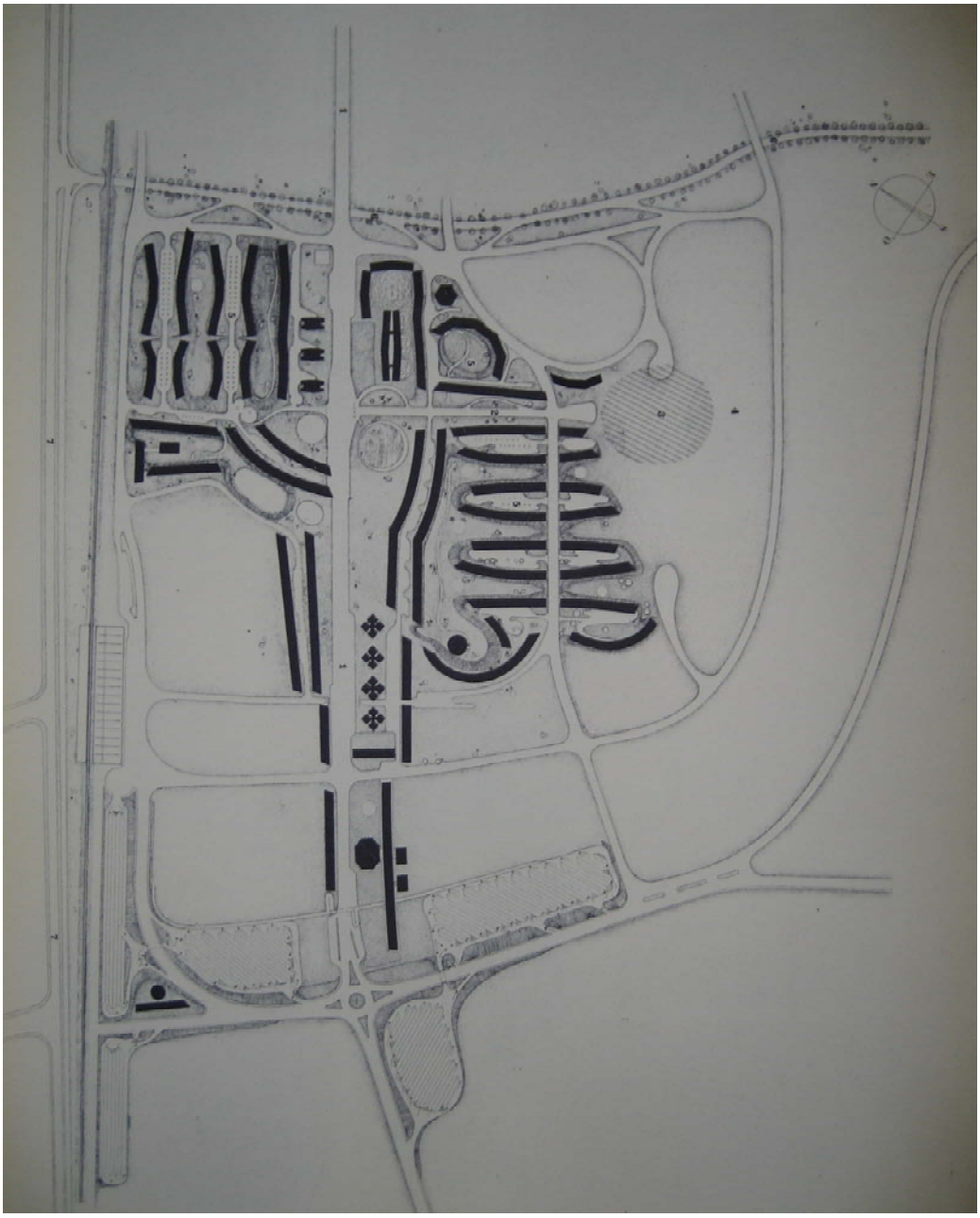


Figure 5.3: Sancta Maria Mater Ecclesiae (1965-70), by Luigi Moretti.
Vicinity Plan, church at no. 3. ACS, Luigi W. Moretti, "Relazione," Box 91.

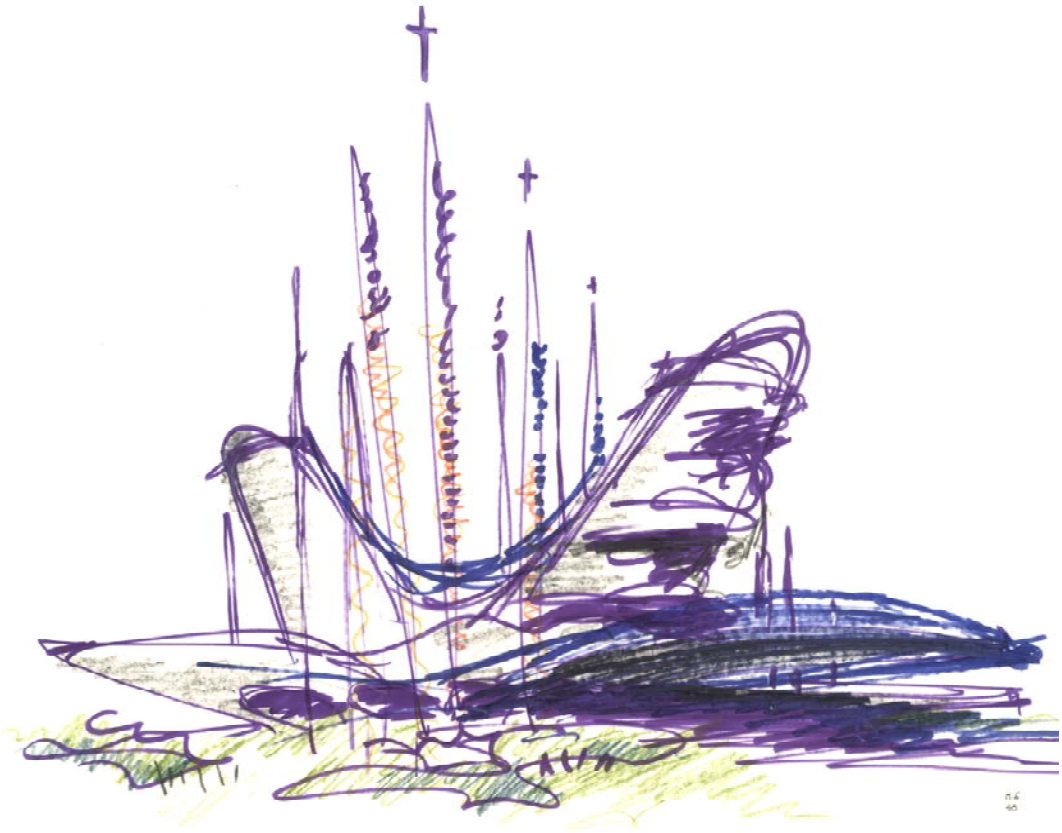


Figure 5.4: Sancta Maria Mater Ecclesiae (1965-70), by Luigi Moretti.
Design drawing, early version featuring vertical supports from which building would be hung. Luigi W. Moretti Archive, ACS, 70/275/720R.

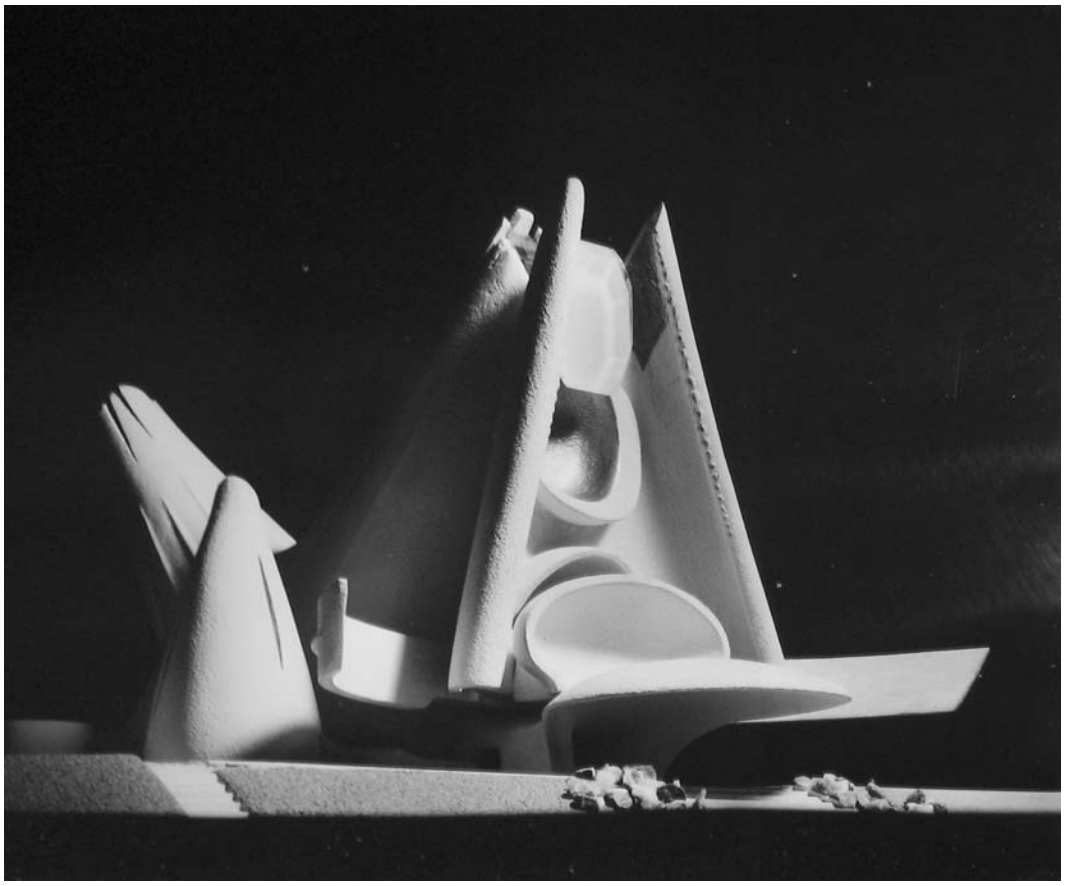


Figure 5.5: Sancta Maria Mater Ecclesiae (1965-70), by Luigi Moretti. Model. Luigi W. Moretti Archive, ACS, 70/275/42241.

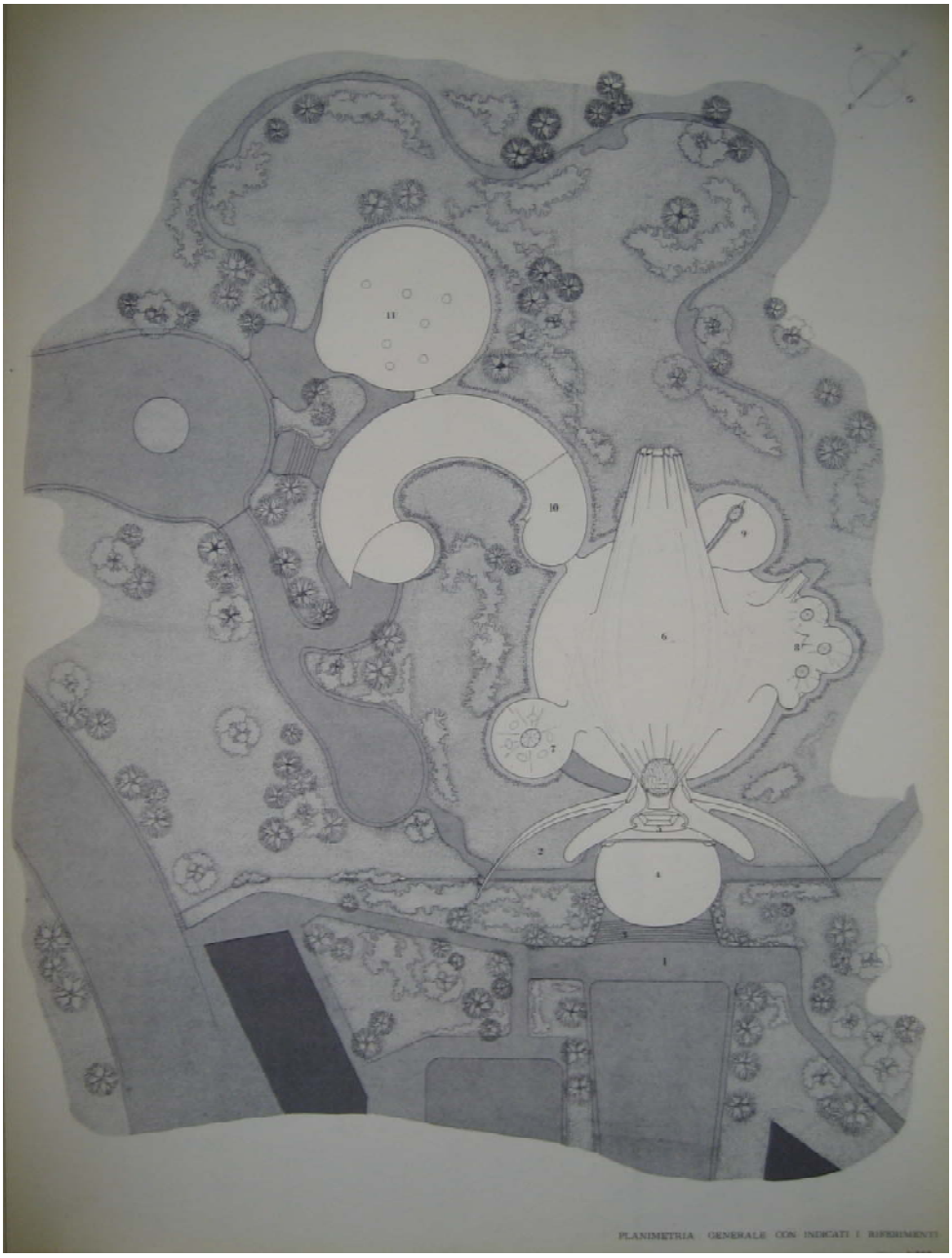


Figure 5.6: Sancta Maria Mater Ecclesiae (1965-70), by Luigi Moretti. Site plan. ACS, Luigi W. Moretti, "Relazione," Box 91.

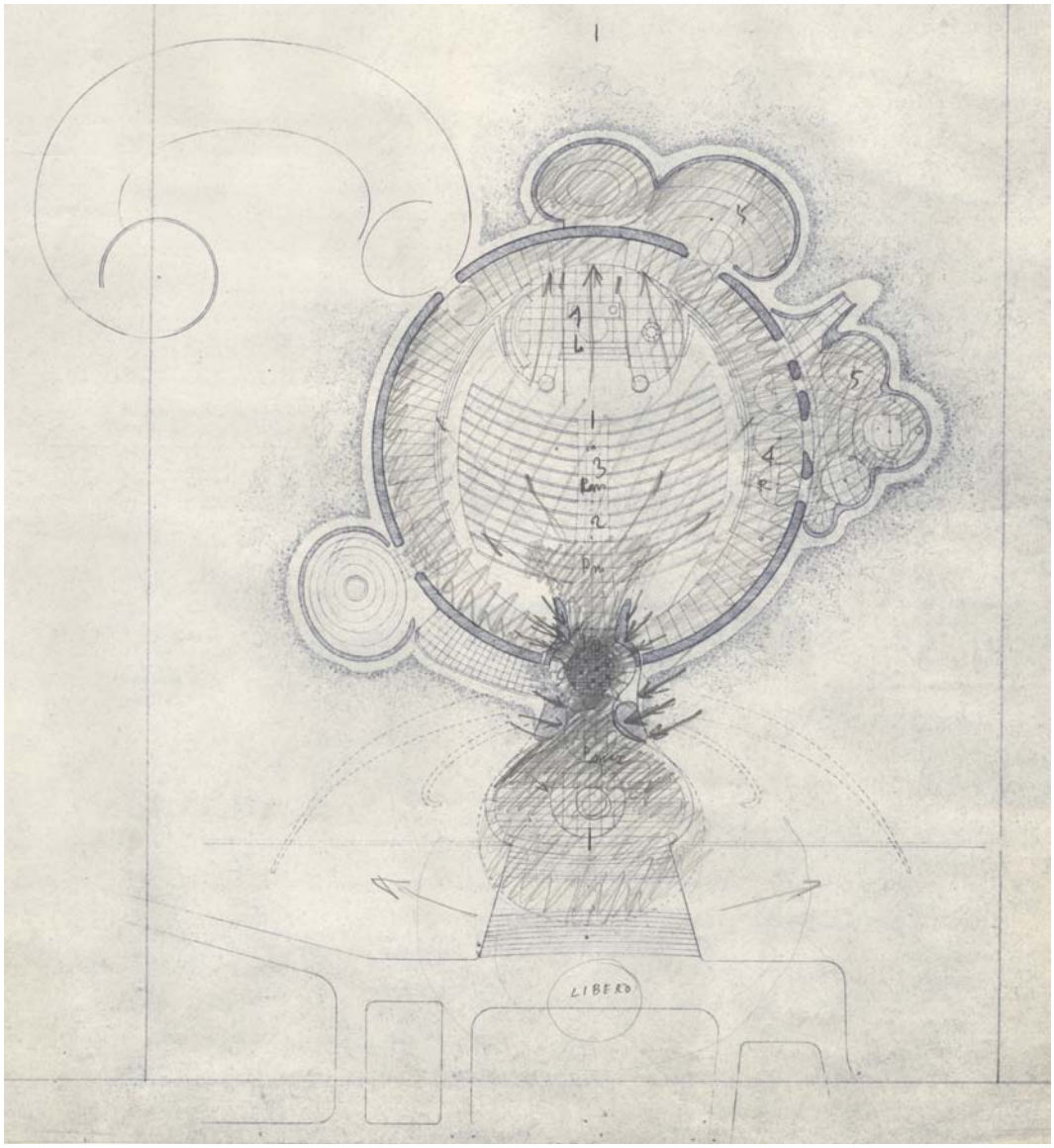


Figure 5.7: Sancta Maria Mater Ecclesiae (1965-70), by Luigi Moretti. Design drawing. ACS, Luigi W. Moretti, 70/275/68OR.

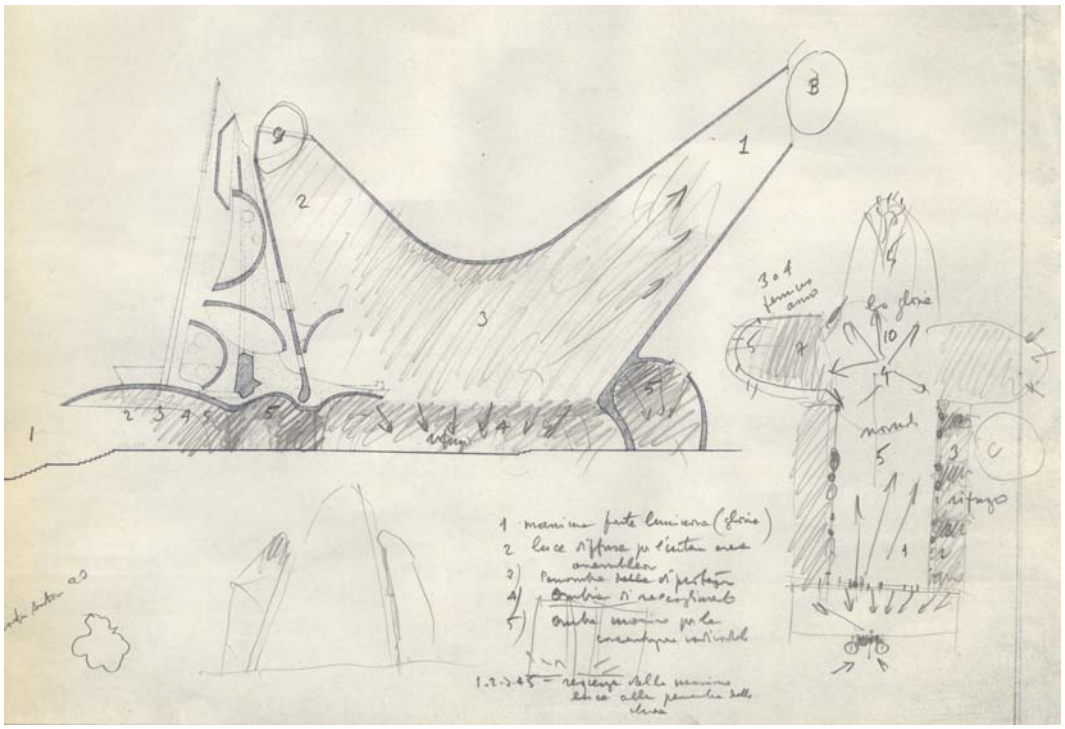


Figure 5.8: Sancta Maria Mater Ecclesiae (1965-70), by Luigi Moretti. Design drawing. ACS, Luigi W. Moretti, 70/275/67OR.

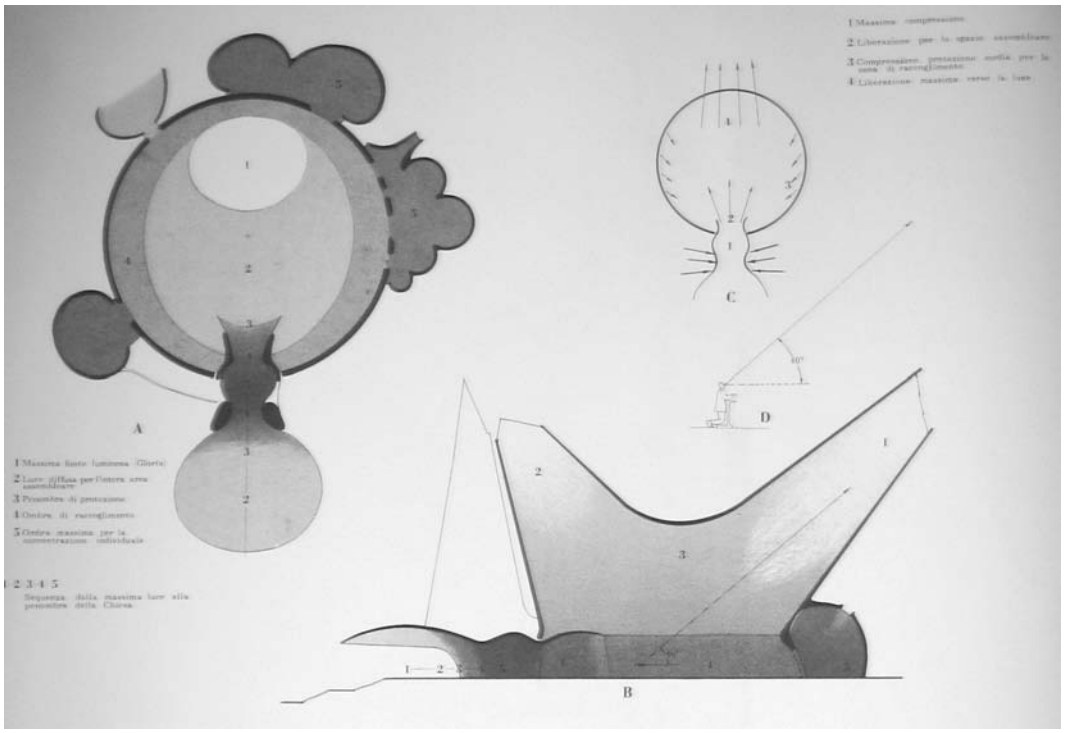


Figure 5.9: Sancta Maria Mater Ecclesiae (1965-70), by Luigi Moretti.
"Space-light" explanatory drawings. ACS, Luigi W. Moretti, "Relazione," Box 91.

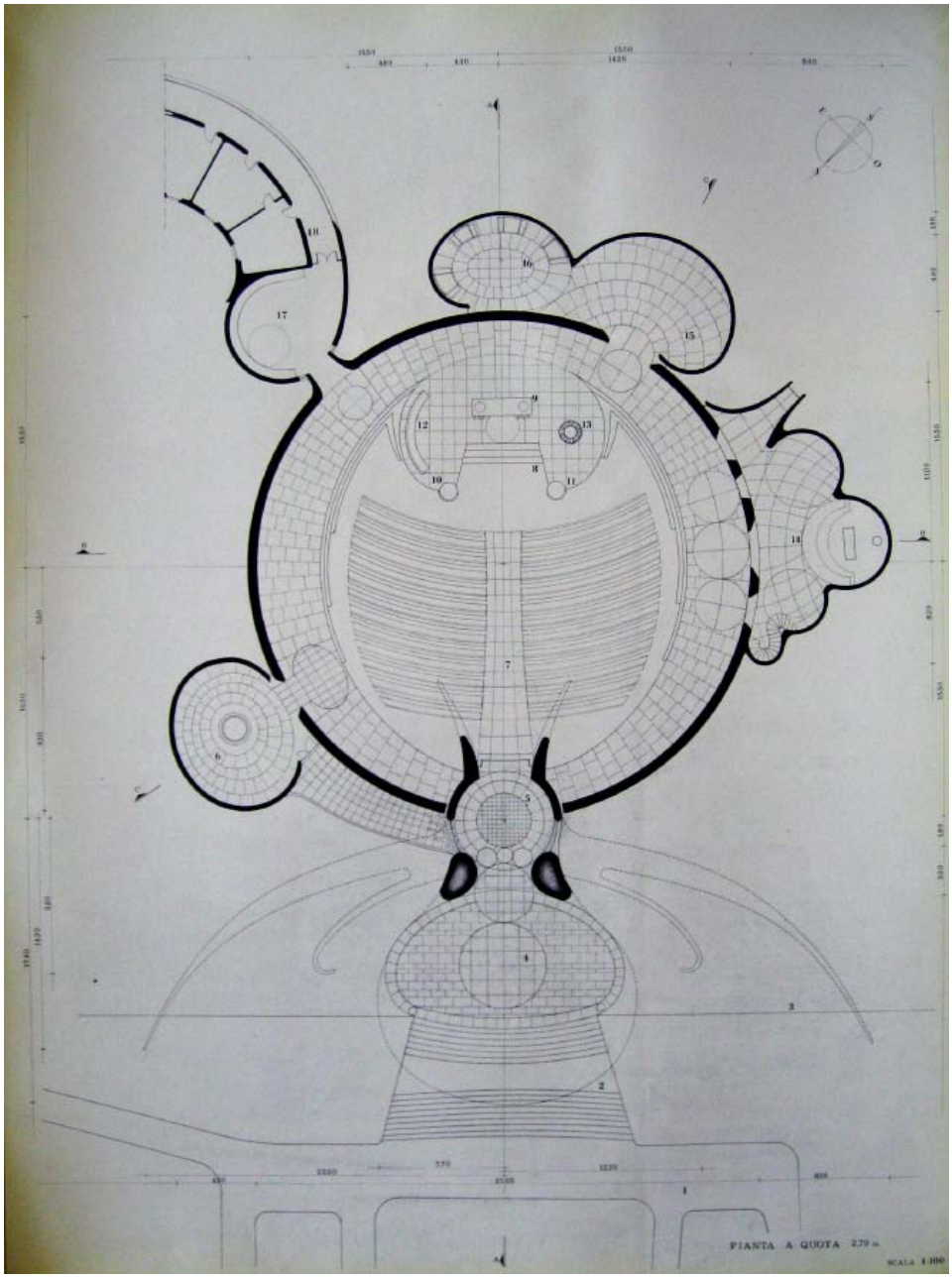


Figure 5.10: Sancta Maria Mater Ecclesiae (1965-70), by Luigi Moretti. Plan. ACS, Luigi W. Moretti, "Relazione," Box 91.

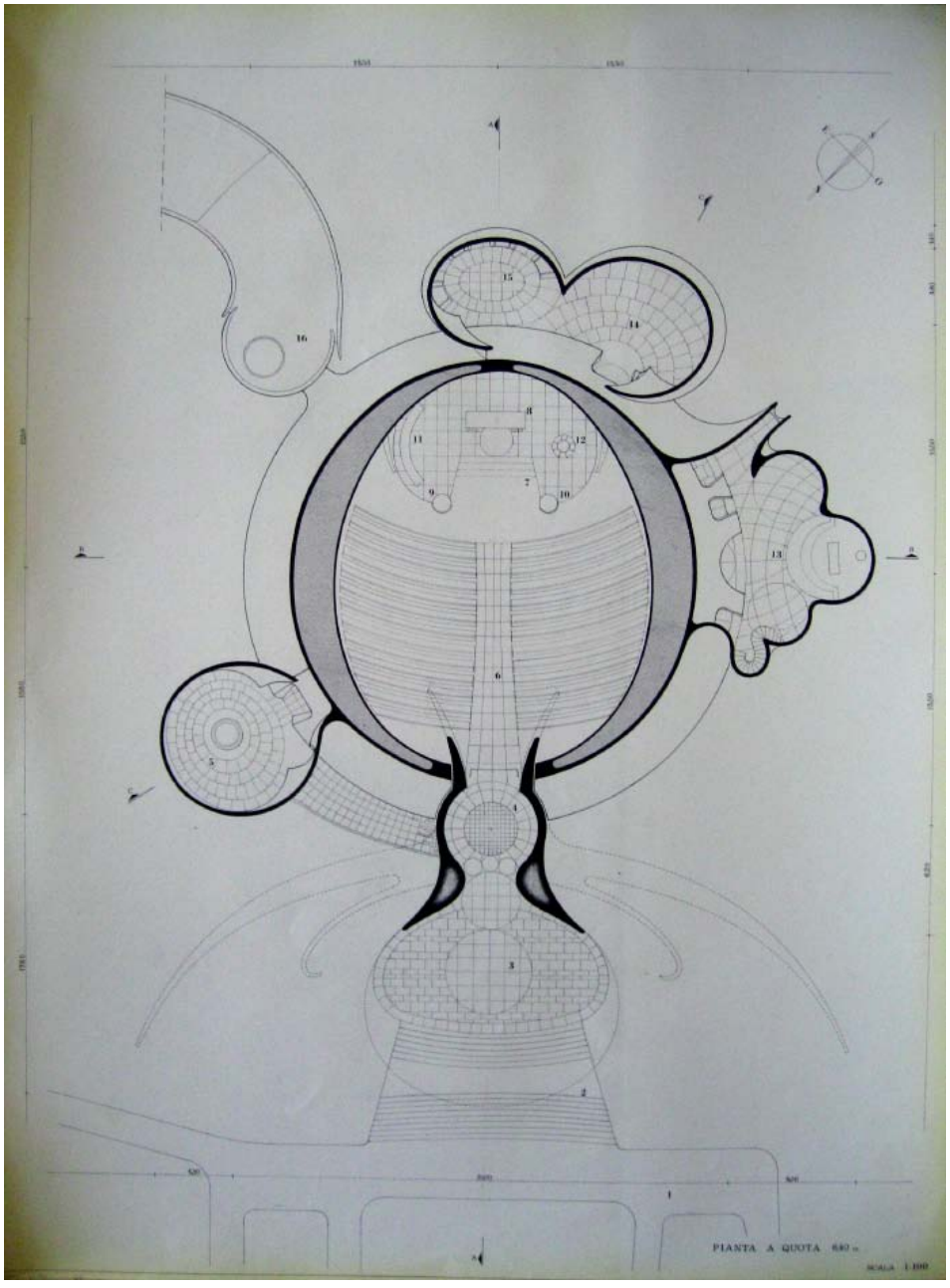


Figure 5.11: Sancta Maria Mater Ecclesiae (1965-70), by Luigi Moretti. Plan. ACS, Luigi W. Moretti, "Relazione," Box 91.

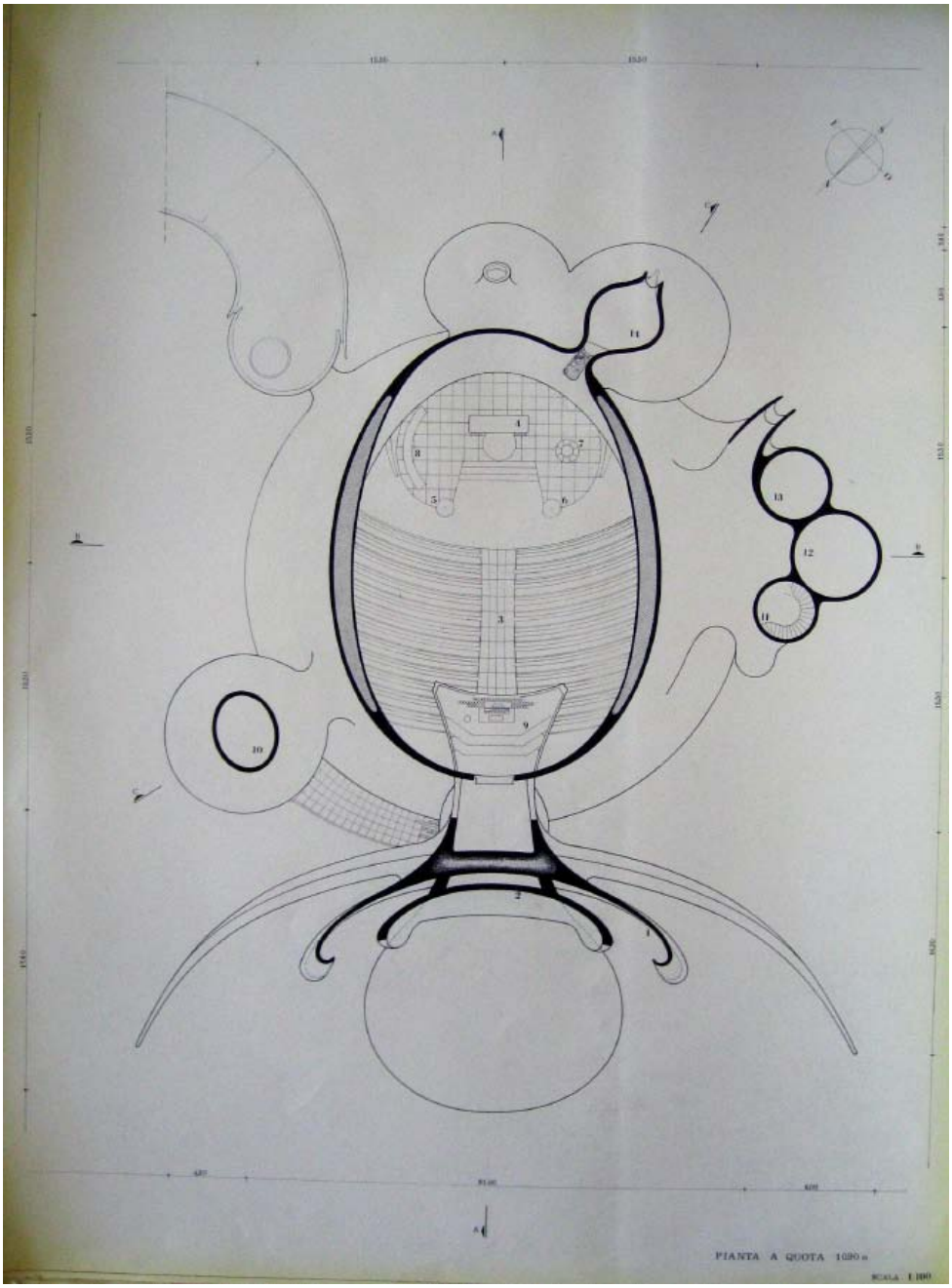


Figure 5.12: Sancta Maria Mater Ecclesiae (1965-70), by Luigi Moretti. Plan. ACS, Luigi W. Moretti, "Relazione," Box 91.

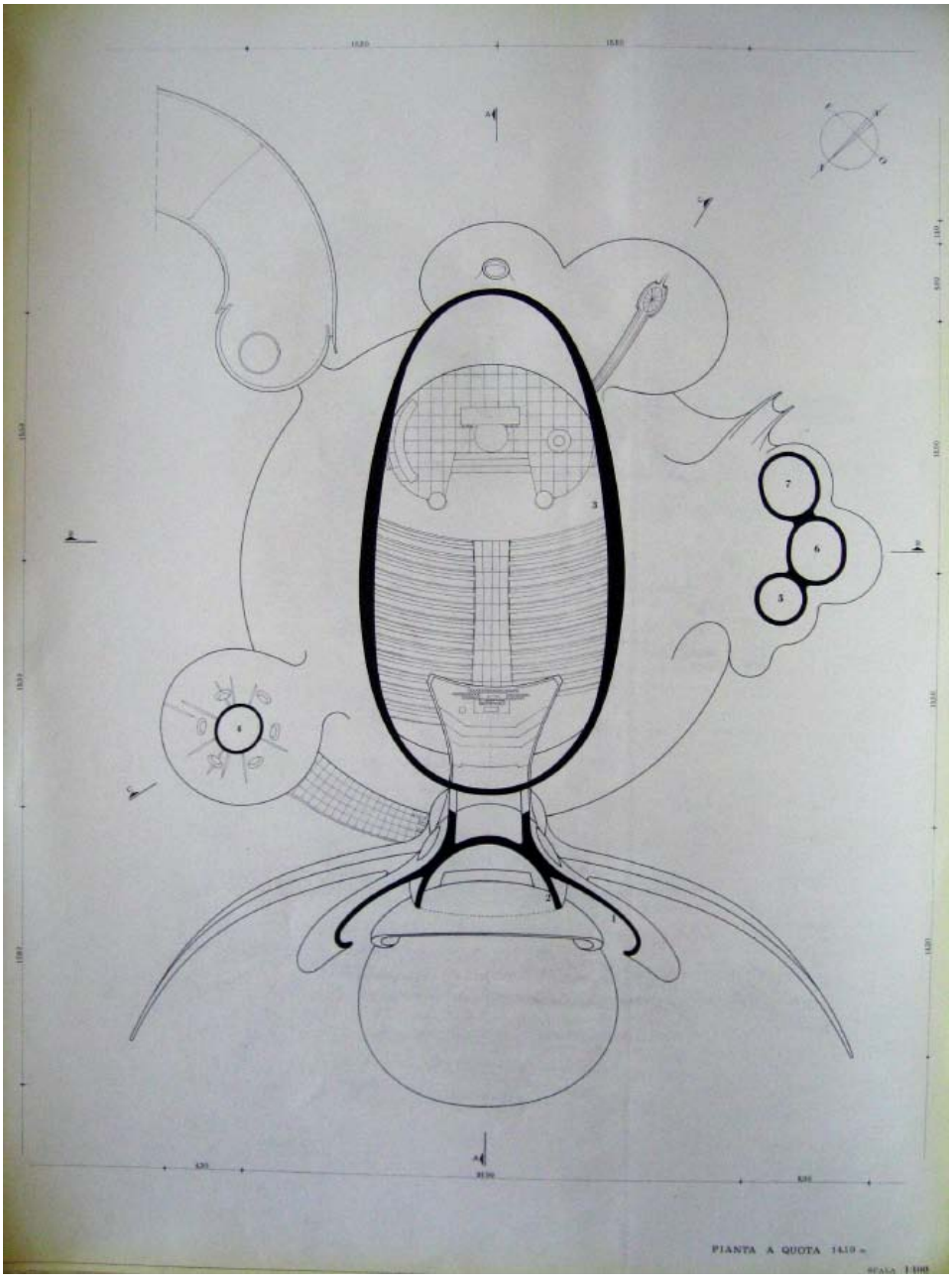


Figure 5.13: Sancta Maria Mater Ecclesiae (1965-70), by Luigi Moretti. Plan. ACS, Luigi W. Moretti, "Relazione," Box 91.

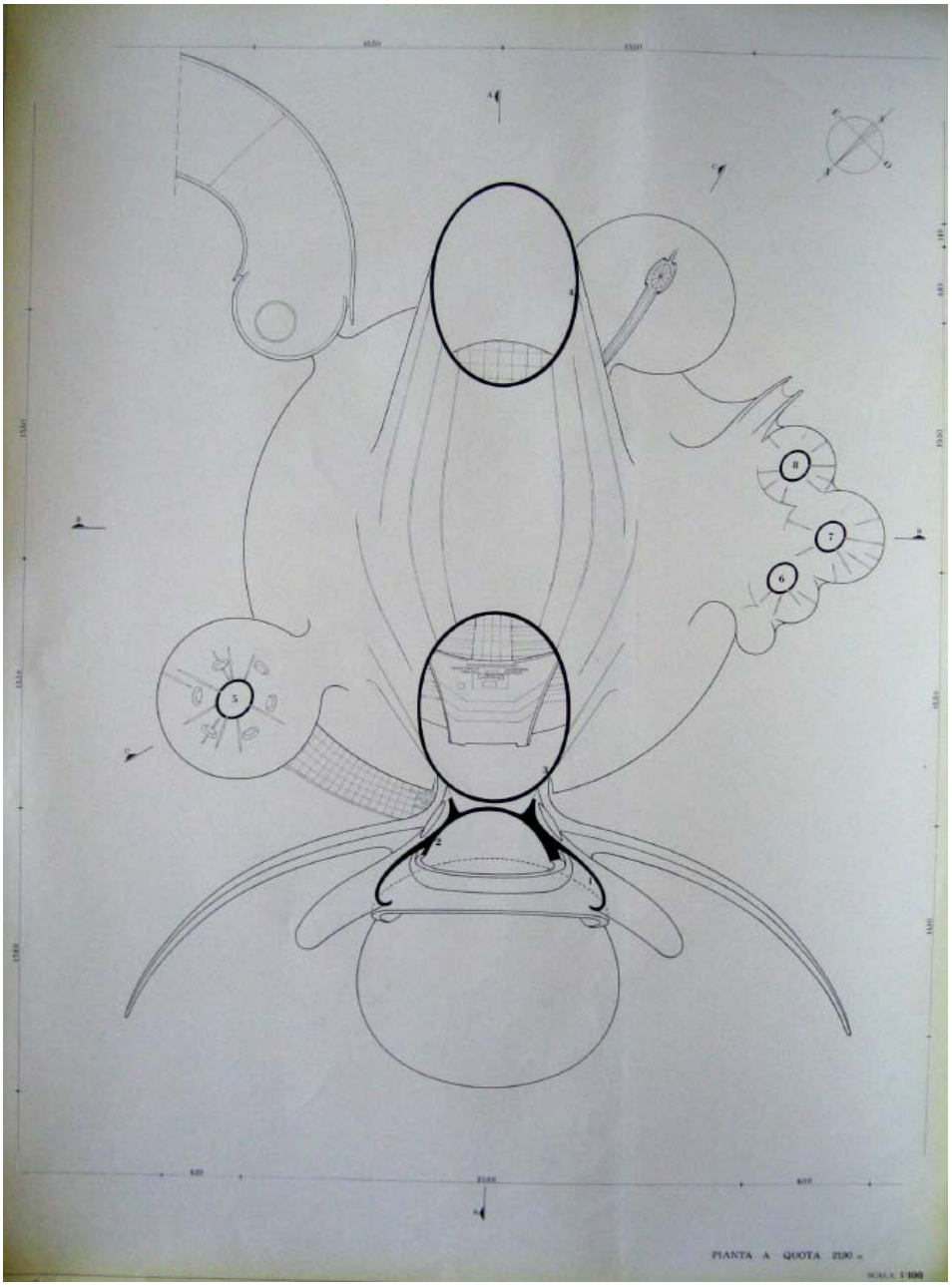


Figure 5.14: Sancta Maria Mater Ecclesiae (1965-70), by Luigi Moretti. Plan. ACS, Luigi W. Moretti, "Relazione," Box 91.

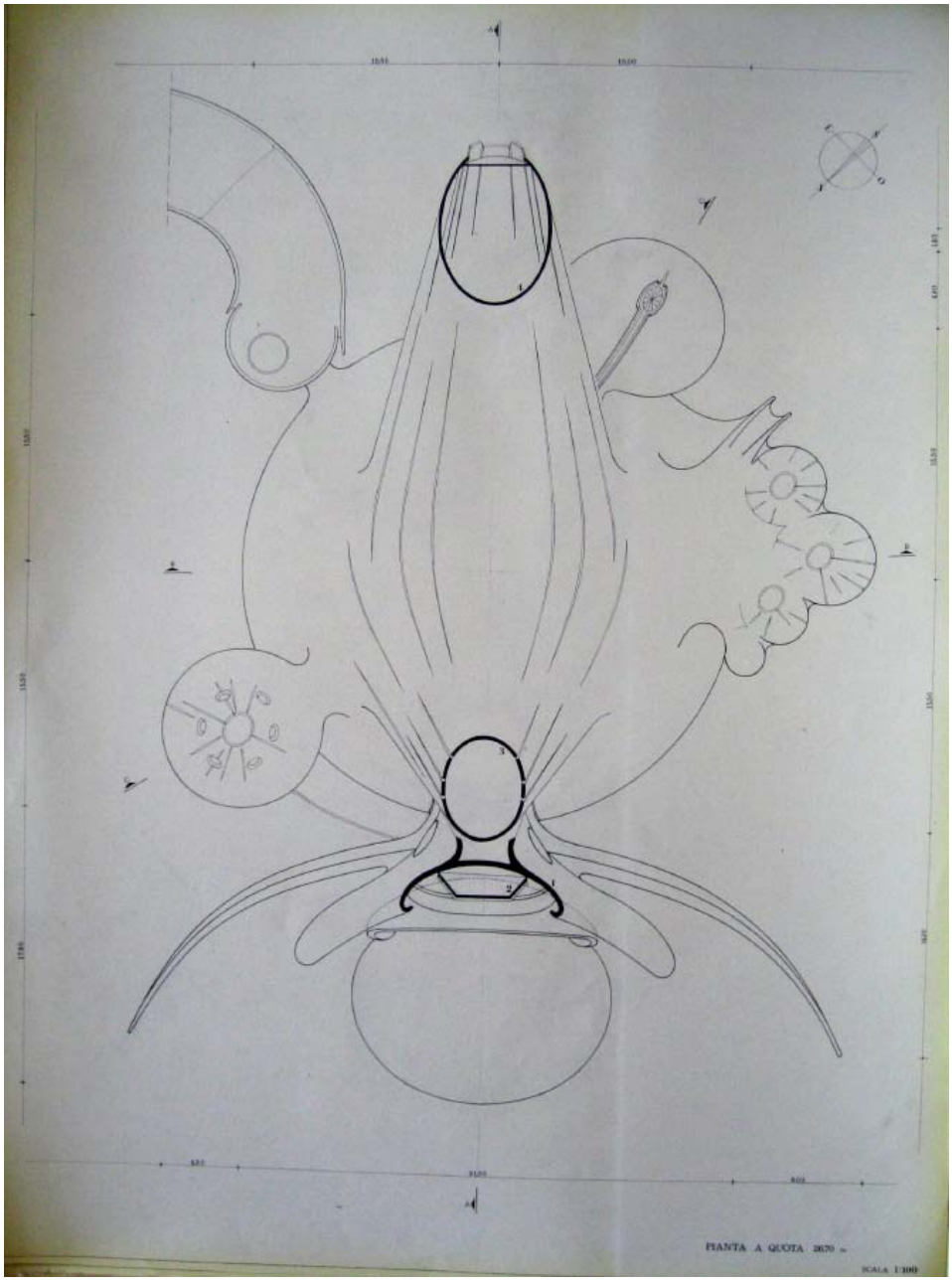


Figure 5.15: Sancta Maria Mater Ecclesiae (1965-70), by Luigi Moretti. Plan. ACS, Luigi W. Moretti, "Relazione," Box 91.

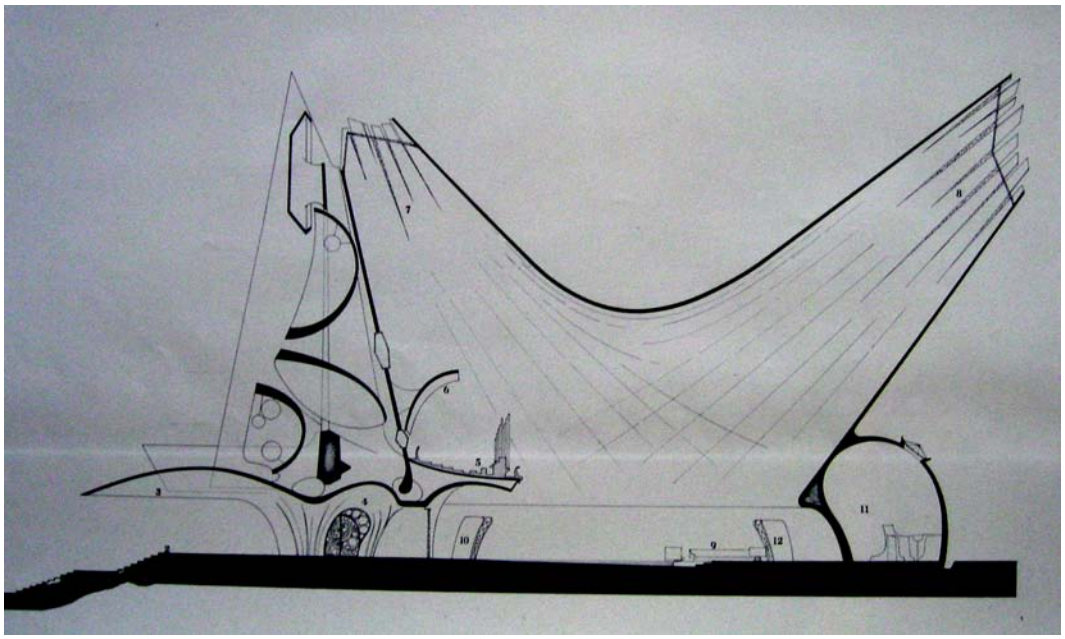


Figure 5.16: Sancta Maria Mater Ecclesiae (1965-70), by Luigi Moretti. Longitudinal section. ACS, Luigi W. Moretti, "Relazione," Box 91.

Figure 5.17: Sancta Maria Mater Ecclesiae (1965-70), by Luigi Moretti. Design sketch. ACS, Luigi W. Moretti, 70/275/44OR.

Figure 5.18: Sancta Maria Mater Ecclesiae (1965-70), by Luigi Moretti. Design drawing. ACS, Luigi W. Moretti, 70/275/29OR.

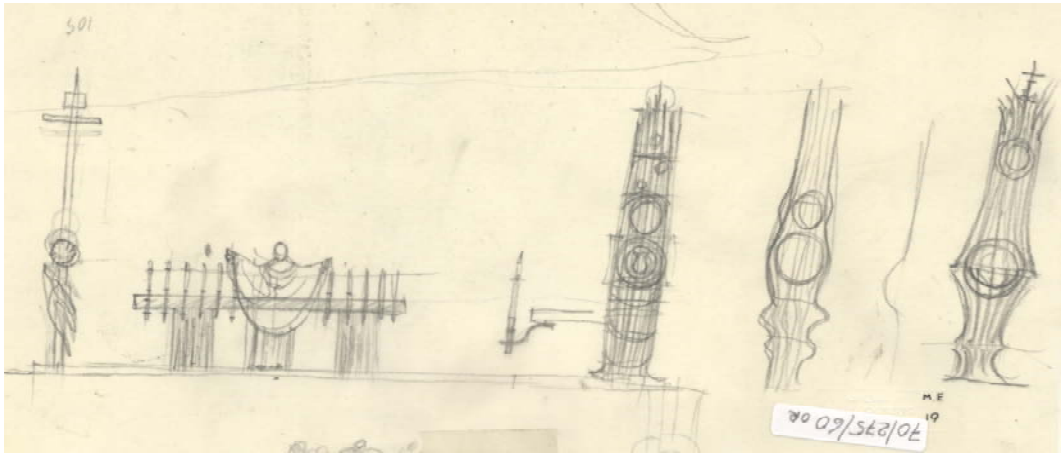


Figure 5.19: Sancta Maria Mater Ecclesiae (1965-70), by Luigi Moretti. Design drawing. ACS, Luigi W. Moretti, 70/275/60OR.

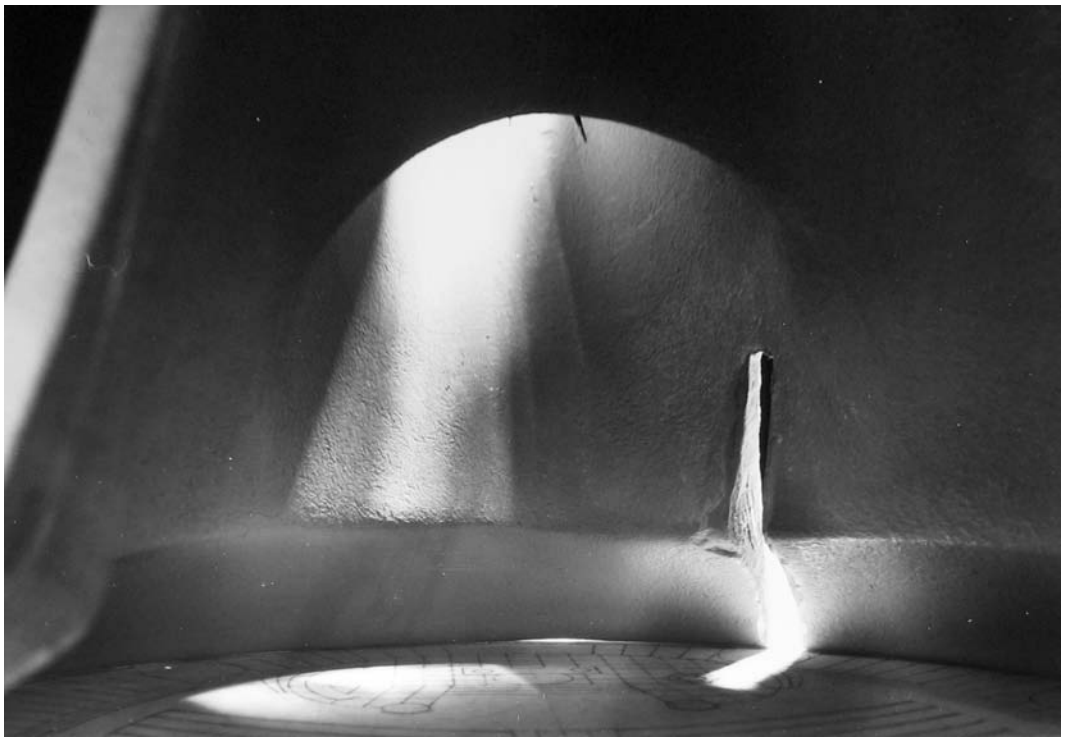


Figure 5.20: Sancta Maria Mater Ecclesiae (1965-70), by Luigi Moretti. Model. ACS, Luigi W. Moretti, 70/275/42279.

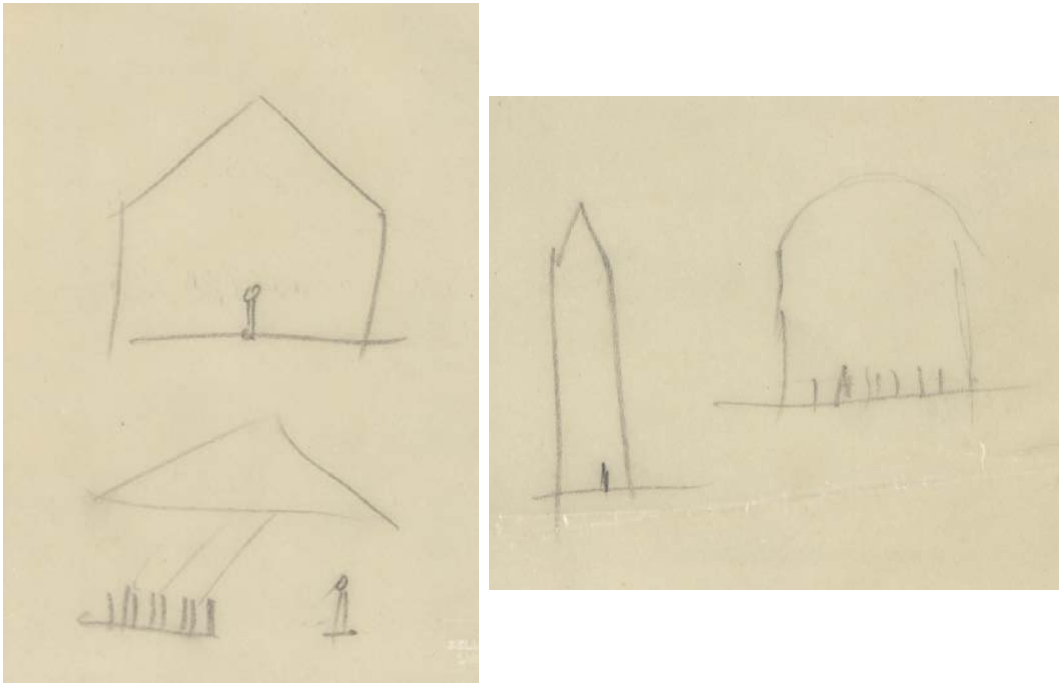


Figure 5.21: Sancta Maria Mater Ecclesiae (1965-70), by Luigi Moretti. Design drawings. ACS, Luigi W. Moretti, 70/275/25OR.

Figure 5.22: SS. Urbano e Lorenzo (1971), Giorgio Pacini.
Photo by author.

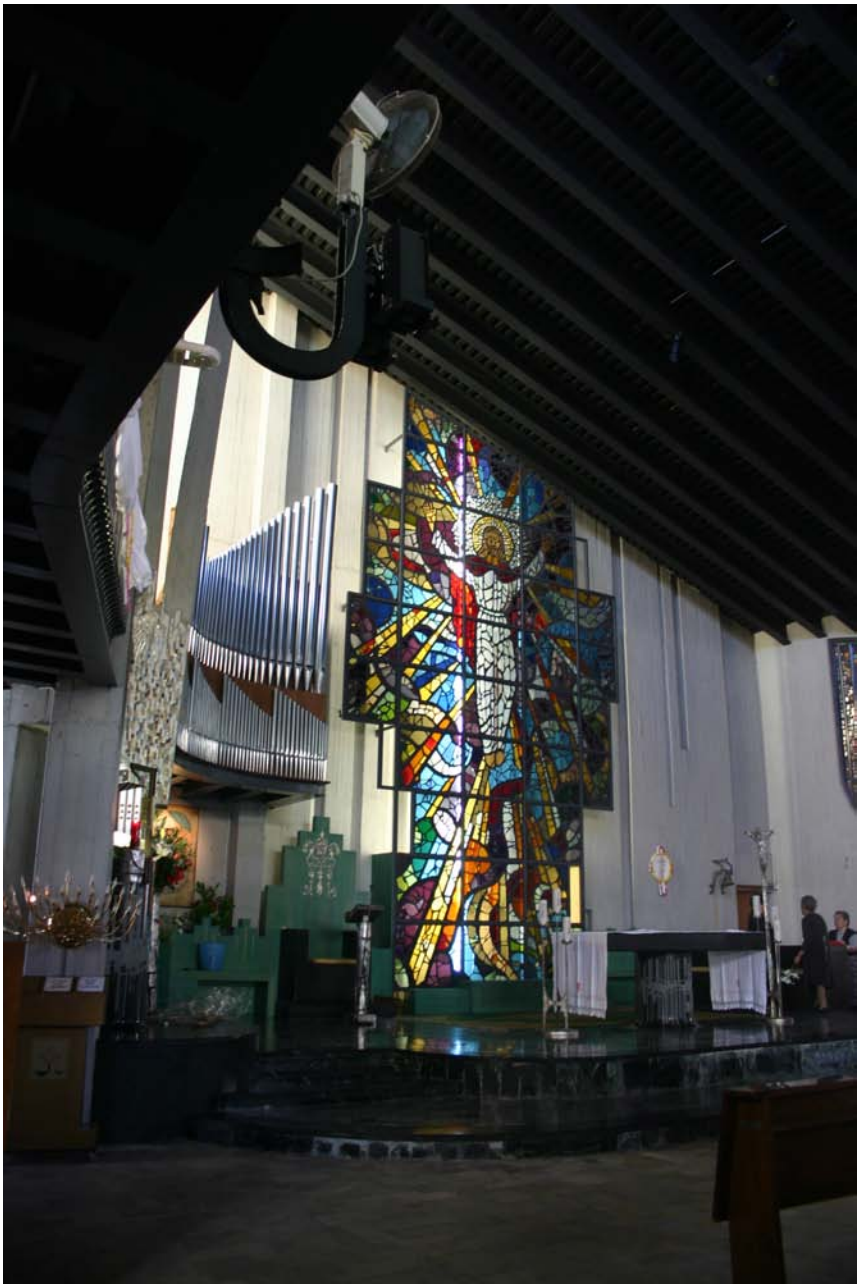


Figure 5.23: SS. Urbano e Lorenzo (1971), Giorgio Pacini.
Photo by author.

Figure 5.24: S. Achille (1972), Giorgio, Claudio, and Massimo Guidi.
Photo by author.

Figure 5.25: S. Achille (1972), Giorgio, Claudio, and Massimo Guidi.
Photo by author.

Figure 5.26: S. Mattia Apostolo (1978), by Ignazio Breccia Fratadocchi. Photo by author.

Figure 5.27: S. Mattia Apostolo (1978), by Ignazio Breccia Fratadocchi.
Photo by author.

Figure 5.28: Sacra Famiglia a via Portuense (1978),
by Paniconi and Pediconi. Photo by author.

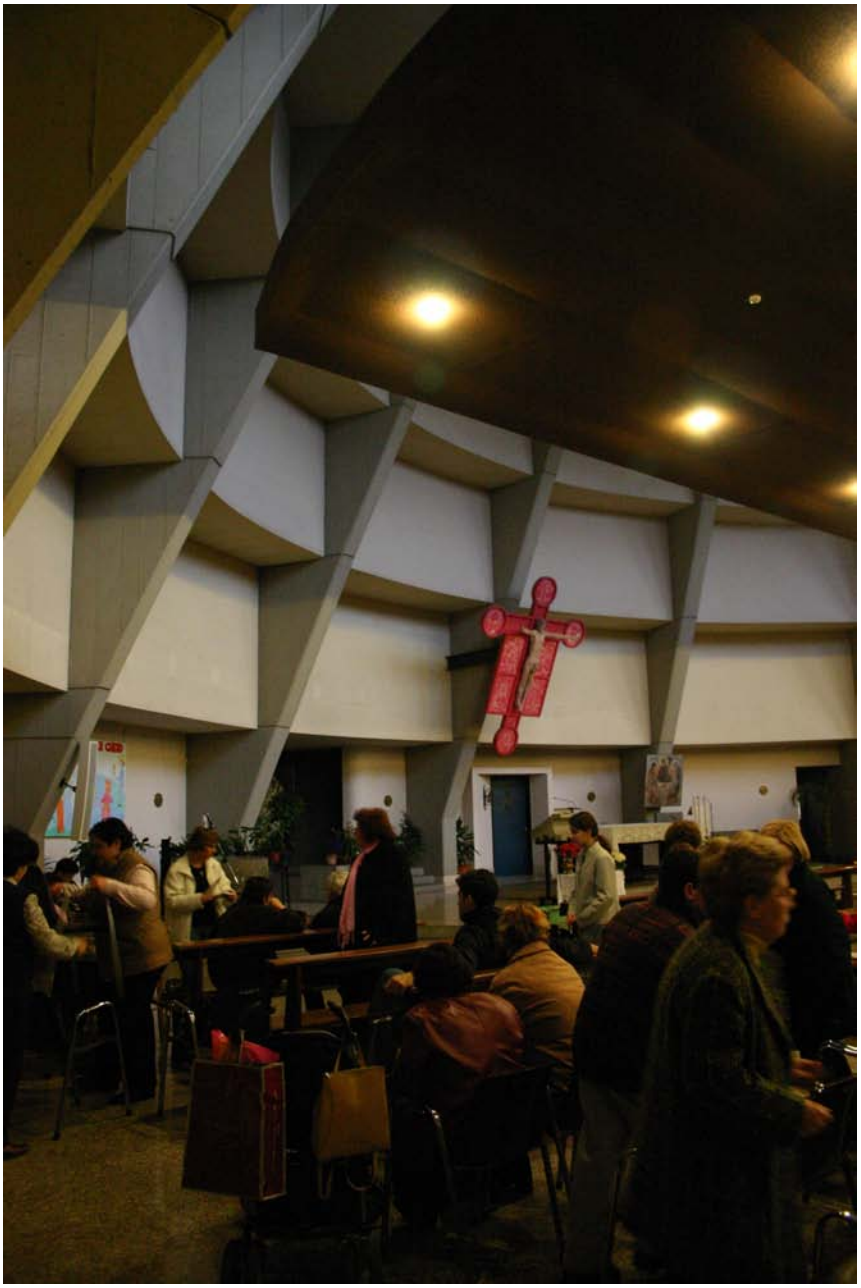


Figure 5.29: Sacra Famiglia a via Portuense (1978),
by Paniconi and Pediconi. Photo by author.

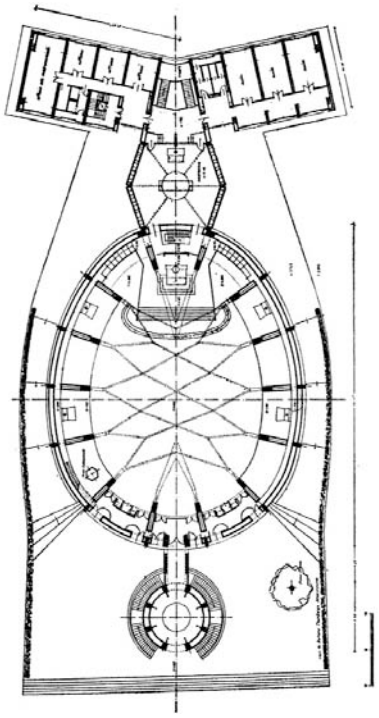
Appendix:

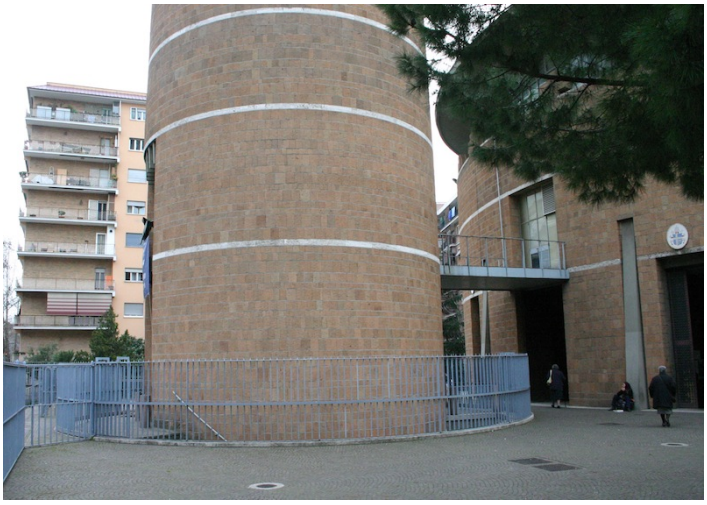
Catalogue of Postwar Parish Churches in Rome

This catalogue presents the churches that were visited and documented during the initial research stages of this dissertation, listed alphabetically by name. This is not a comprehensive account of all Catholic parish churches built in Rome after the Second World War, but rather a sampling initially prompted by architectural guidebooks and the first histories that include postwar churches. With each entry, the following information is given, as available or relevant, in the order indicated:

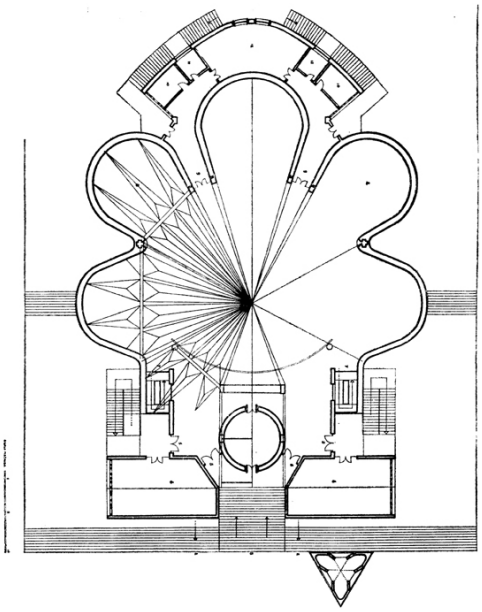
Present Name (Historic Name, if different) Architect Date Address Clearest Typological Concept(s) References Illustration credit(s)	Illustration A
Illustration C	Illustration B

1. Gesù Divino Lavoratore
Raffaello Fagnoni
1959
Via Oderisi da Gubbio 16
Centralized, elliptical plan; longitudinal focus.
See Alemanno, 2: 131-35; Ceschi 223-24, 290; Mavilio, 212-13; Portoghesi, "Parrocchia di Gesù Divino Lavoratore in Roma."
A: Ceschi, 223; photos by author.

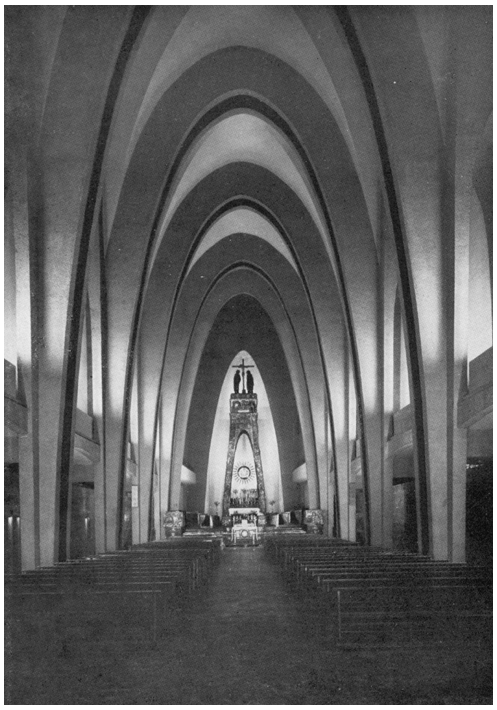




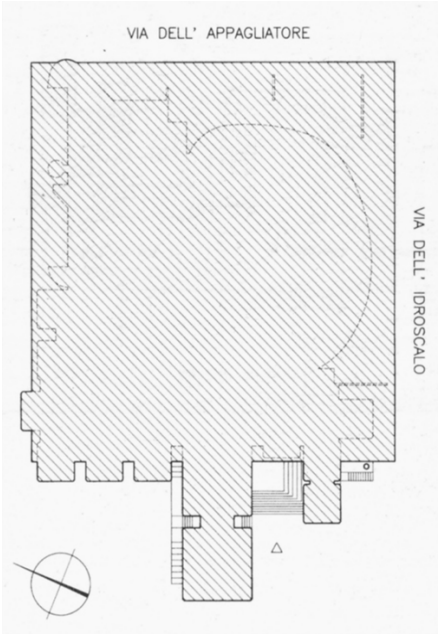
2. Nostra Signora de la Salette
Ennio Canino and Vivina Rizzi
1959-60
Piazza Madonna de La Salette 1
Centralized, radial plan; longitudinal focus.
See Alemanno, 2: 113-17; Andreola, "Nostra Signora de La Salette;" Canino; Ceschi 235-36, 326-28; Cunial; Mavilio, 216.
A: Ceschi 235; photos by author.



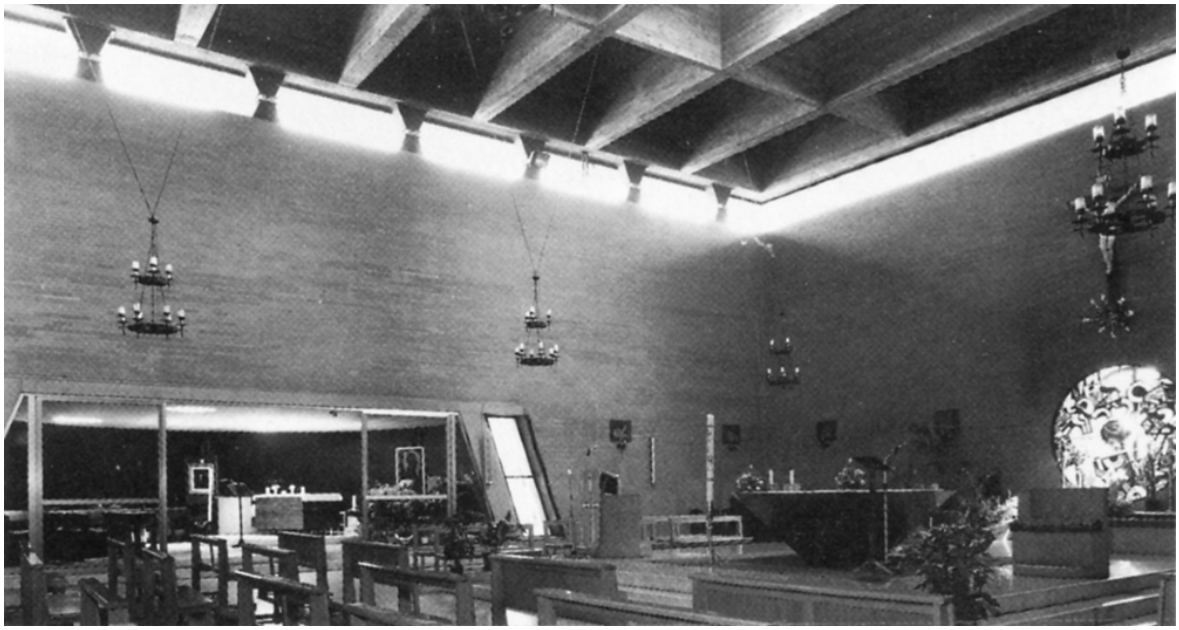
3. Nostra Signora del SS. Sacramento e SS. Martiri Canadesi
(was: Chiesa dei Martiri Canadesi)
Bruno Maria Apollonj-Ghetti
1952-55
Via Giovanni Battista De Rossi 46
Hall church.
See Apollonj Ghetti, "Dati essenziali," "Il problema costruttivo," "Per una chiesa di Massa;" Ceschi 218, 278-80; Mavilio 54-55; Tafiera.
A: Ceschi, 278; other photos by author.



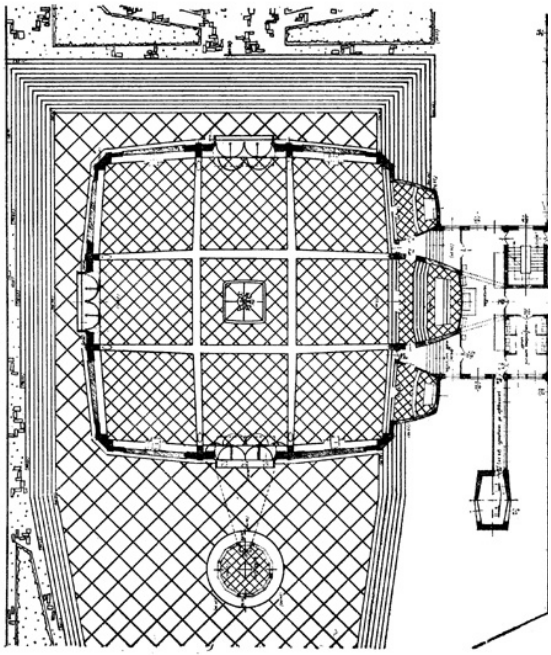
4. Nostra Signora Bonaria
Francesco Berarducci, Giorgio Monaco, and Giuseppe Rinaldi
1975-82
Via Nostra Signora di Bonaria s.n.c.
Centralized, square plan.
See "Chiesa al Lido di Ostia, Roma;" Mavilio, 174; Moltedo, et al, 100-101.
Photos by author.



5. Nostra Signora di Czestochowa
Alberto and Gianfronco Tonelli
1970-71
Largo Augusto Corelli 9
Centralized, square plan.
See Mavilio, 119; Ratti, 82-83.
A: photo by author; B: Ratti, 83.



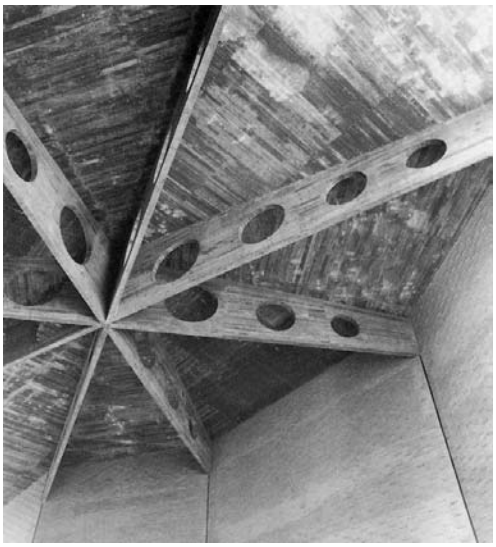
6. Nostra Signora di Lourdes a Tor Marancia
(was: Chiesa della Madonna di Lourdes a Tormarancia)
Gino Cancellotti
1959
Via Andrea Mantegna 147
Centralized, square plan.
See Ceschi 222-23, 289; Mavilio, 175.
C: Ceschi 222; other photos by author.



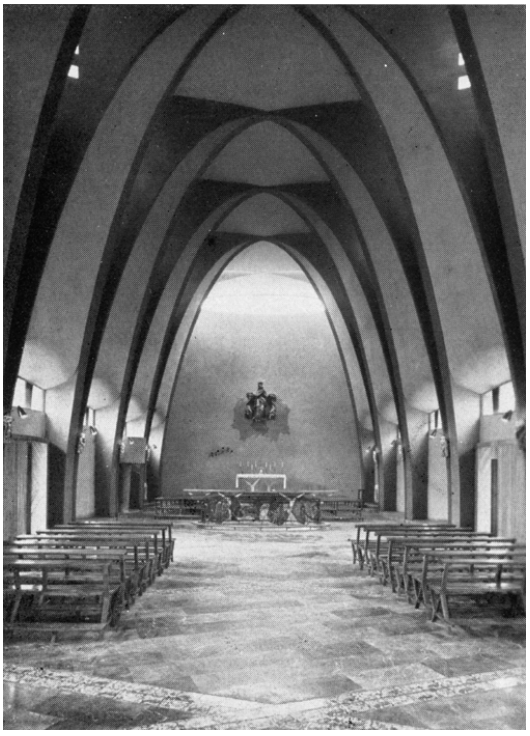
7. S. Achille
Giorgio, Claudio, and Massimo Guidi
1972
Via Gaspara Stampa 64
Centralized, radial plan; corner, radial focus.
See Mavilio, 56-57; Ratti, 94-95.
Photos by author.

8. S. Ambrogio
Paolo Rebecchini
1973
Via Girolamo Vitelli 23
Centralized, circular plan; radial focus.
See Mavilio 221; Ratti, 154-55.
Photos by author.

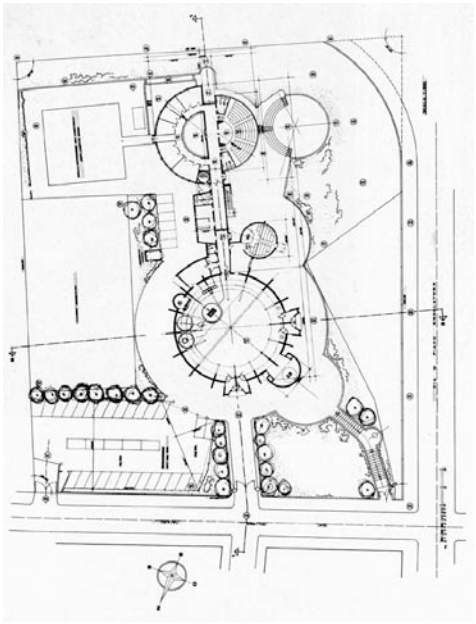
9. S. Cipriano
Alberto Ressa (Ufficio tecnico Società Generale Immobiliare Sogene)
1970-75
Via Torrevecchia 169
Centralized, lozenge plan; longitudinal focus.
See Mavilio, 224-25; Ratti, 152-53.
A: Ratti, 153; B: photo by author.

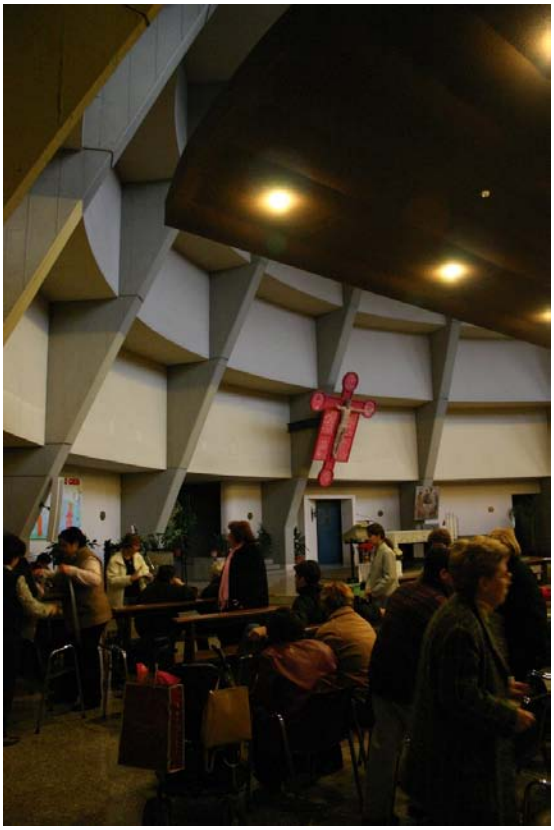


10. S. Cuore di Gesù Agonizzante
Ildo Avetta
1953-55
Via Sant'Arcangelo di Romagna 70
Hall church.
See Alemanno 3: 62-64; Avetta; Ceschi 217, 276-7; Mavilio 178.
A: Ceschi, 277; other photos by author.

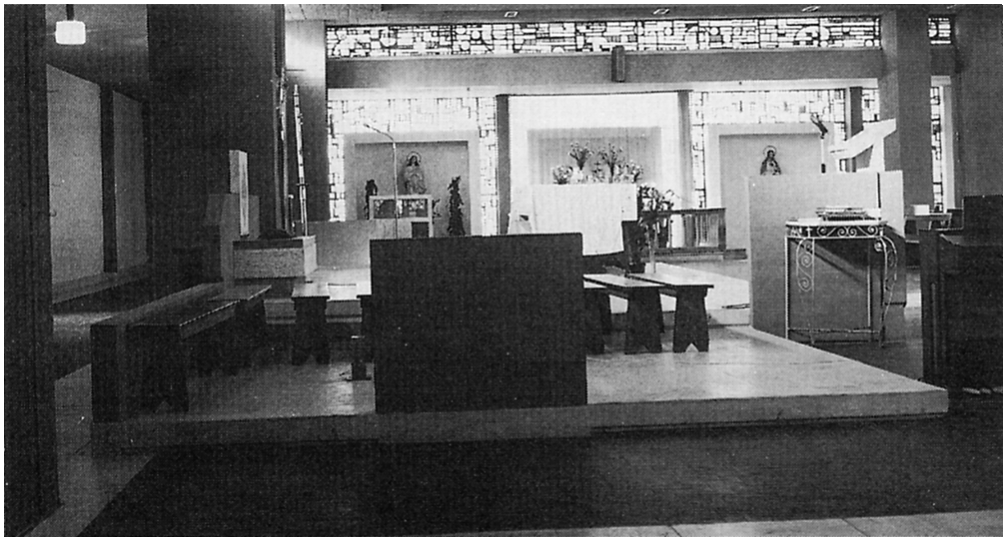


11. S. Famiglia a Via Portuense
Paniconi and Pediconi
1978-81
Via F. Tajani 50
Centralized, circular plan; radial focus.
See Mavilio, 249-50; Muntoni; Ratti, 80-81.
C: Muntoni, 167; photos by author.

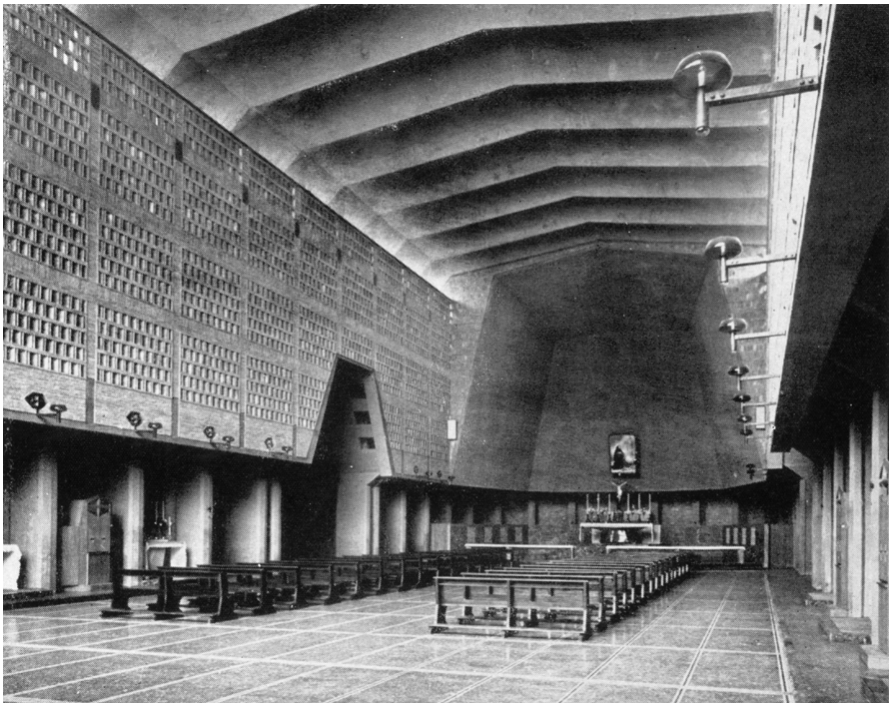




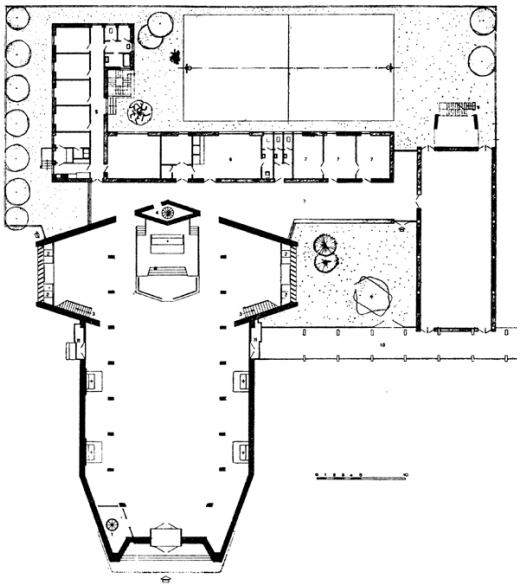
12. Sacra Famiglia di Nazareth a Centocelle
(Sacra Famiglia di Nazareth)
Giampaolo Cevenini, Mario Fusacchia
164-72
Piazza delle Gardenie, 45
Centralized, square plan; lateral focus.
See Mavilio, 164; Ratti, 156-57.
A: photo by author; B: Ratti, 157.



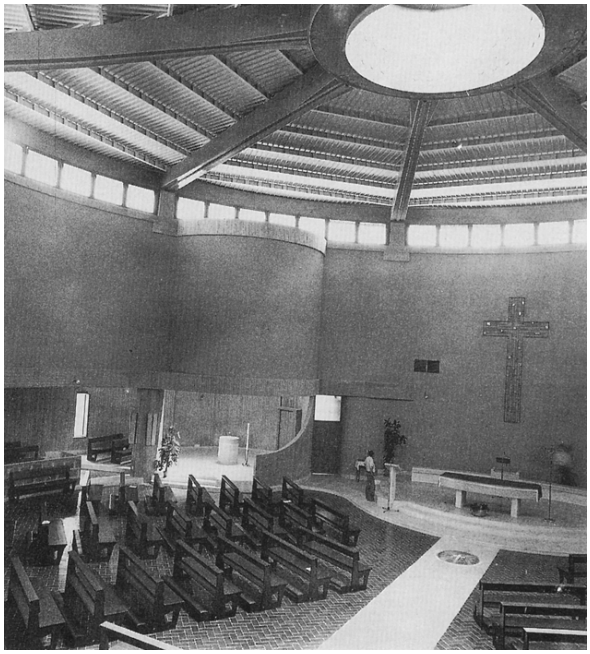
13. S. Francesca Cabrini
Enrico Lenti and Mario Muratori
1956-58
Piazza Massa Carrara 15
Hall church.
See Ceschi 228-29, 305-306; Mavilio, 74-75; Portoghesi, “Le cento città;” "Premi Regionali IN/ ARCH 1969."
A: photo by author; B: Ceschi, 305.



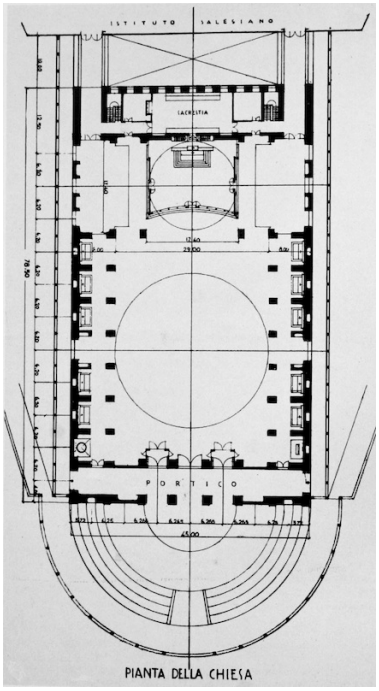
14. S. Francesco d'Assisi ad Acilia
(was: S. Francesco)
Lucio Passarelli
1953-54
Largo Cesidio da Fossa 18
Basilican church.
See Ceschi 215-16, 270-71; Mavilio, 180;
"Cinquant'anni di attività professionale a Roma: lo studio degli architetti Passarelli."
A: Ceschi, 215; Photos by author.



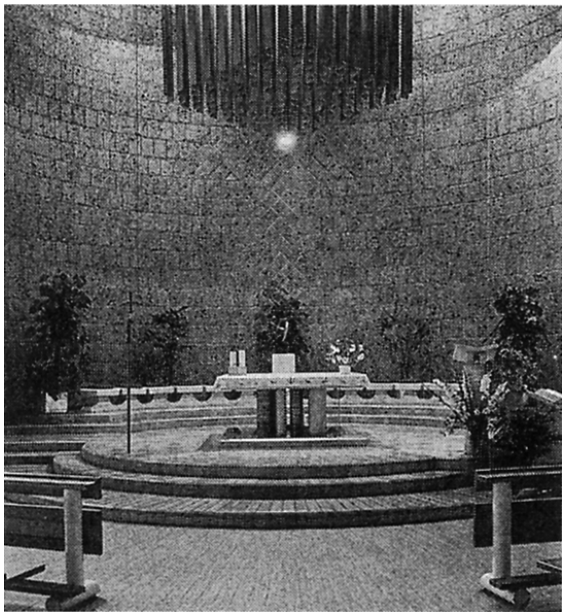
15. S. Gaetano
Giorgio Pacini
1975-79
Via di Poggio Martino 1
Centralized, radial plan; radial focus.
See Mavilio, 76-77; Ratti, 76-77.
B: Ratti, 77; other photos by author.



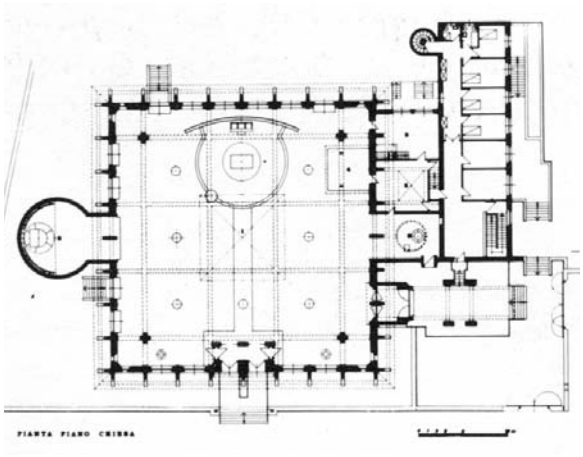
16. S. Giovanni Bosco
Gaetano Rapisardi
1952-59
Viale dei Salesiani 9
Hall church.
See Alemanno 3: 100-105; Alfano, "La Chiesa di S. Giovanni Bosco a Cinecittà;" Del Massa; Ippoliti, "La piazza di S. Giovanni Bosco al Tuscolano," "Il Tuscolano attraverso le previsioni urbanistiche;" Ippoliti and Unali; Mavilio 135-36; Passeri; Pilla; Unali, "La vicenda della chiesa di S. Giovanni Bosco al Tuscolano: dal concorso alla realizzazione."
A: Pilla, 80; photos by author.



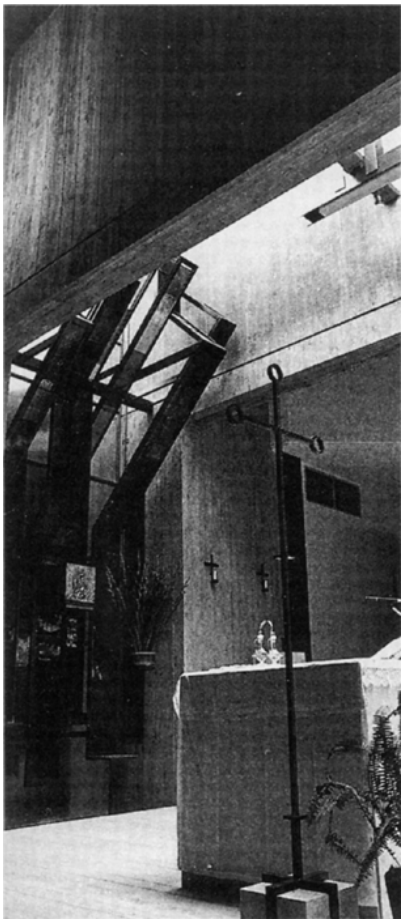
17. S. Giovanni Evangelista a Spinaceto
Julio Lafuente, Gaetano Rebecchini
1979
Via Raffaele Aversa 44
Centralized, multiform plan; longitudinal focus.
See Mavilio 182-83; Ratti, 52-53.
A: Ratti, 53; B: photo by author.



18. S. Giuseppe Cafasso
Paniconi and Pediconi
1966-70
Via Camillo Manfroni 2
Centralized square plan; longitudinal focus.
See Mavilio 140-41; Muntoni.
A: Muntoni, 198; photo by author.

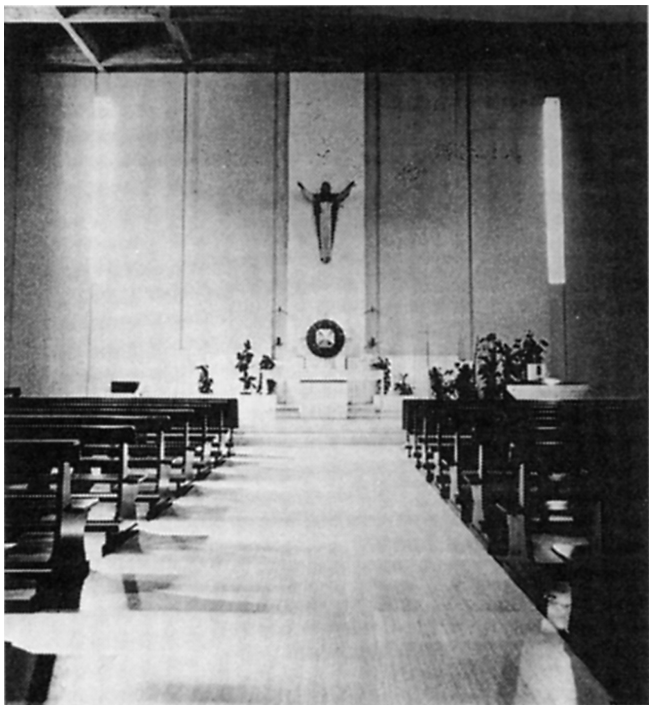


19. S. Giuseppe Cottolengo
Paolo Cercato, Franco Ceschi, and Edgardo Tonca
1979
Via Valle Aurelia 62
Centralized square plan; radial focus.
See Mavilio 231; Ratti, 42-43; Tentori.
A: Ratti, 43; B: photo by author.

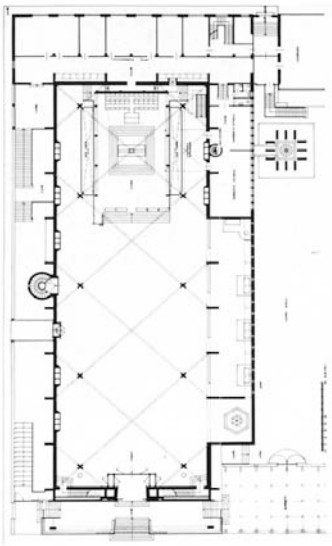


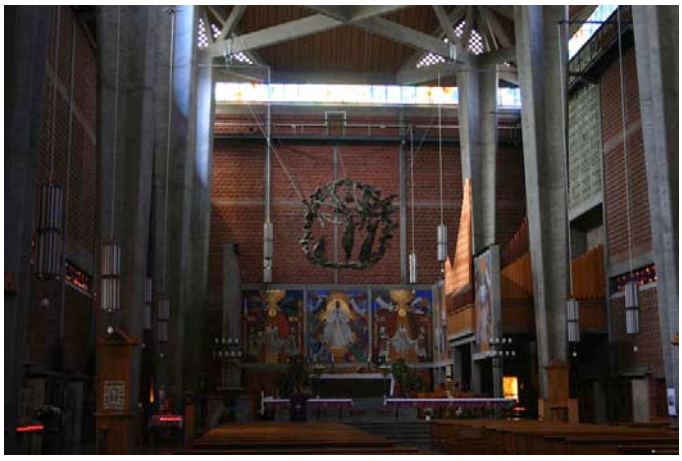
20. S. Gregorio Barbarigo
Giuseppe Vaccaro
1970-72
Via Montagne Rocciose 14
Centralized circular plan; radial focus.
See Mavilio 184-85; Ratti, 56-57; "Ultima testimonianze di Giuseppe Vaccaro: Chiesa di San Gregorio Barbarigo a Roma."
A: photo by author; B: Ratti, 57.

21. S. Gregorio Magno
Ernesto Vichi and Aldo Aloysi
1975-77
Piazza Certaldo 85
Centralized, square plan;
longitudinal focus.
See Mavilio, 232; Ratti, 136-37.
A: Ratti, 137; B: photo by author.



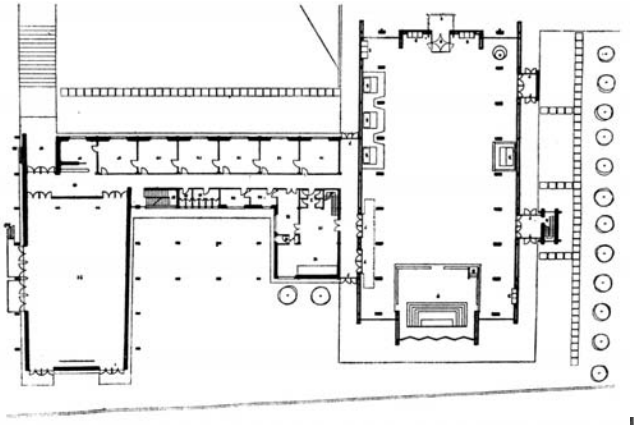
22. S. Gregorio VII
Paniconi and Pediconi
1957-61
Via del Cottolengo 4
Basilican/Hall church.
See Ceschi, 230, 311-17, t.VIII; dell'Arco; Mavilio, 233; Muntoni.
A: Muntoni, 150; photos by author.

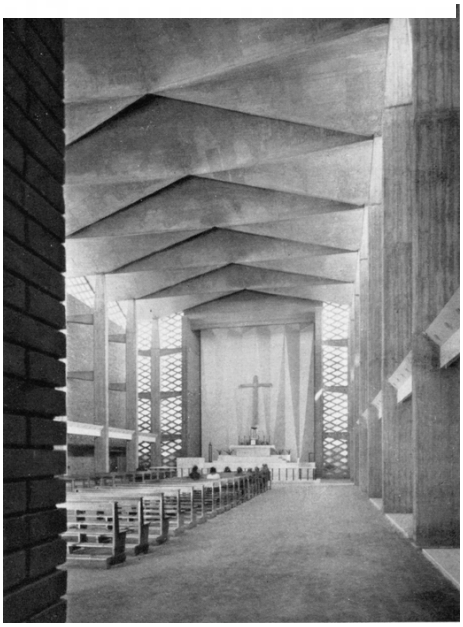




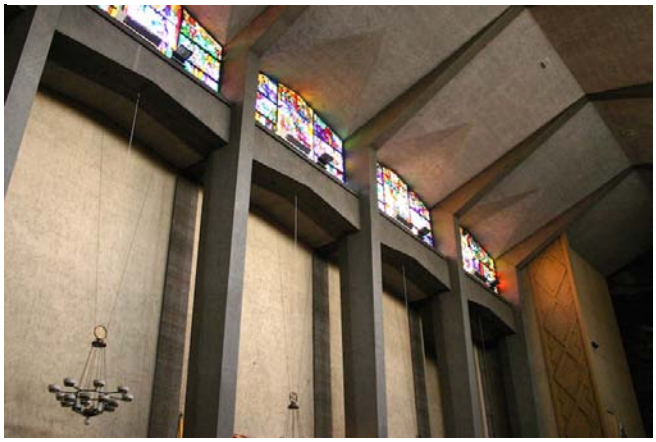
23. Parrocchia San Leone I
(was: S. Leone Magno)
Giuseppe Zander
1951-52
Via Prenestina 104
Basilican plan.
See Alemanno 3: 122-24; Ceschi, 208, 250-3; Mavilio, 146; Benedetti, "Ricordando Giuseppe Zander [obituary]."
Photos by author.

24. S. Luca Evangelista
(was: S. Luca al Prenestino)
Vincenzo, Fausto and Lucio Passarelli
1956-58
Via Luchino Del Verme 50
Hall church.
See Ceschi 216, 272-3; Mavilio 146-47.
A: Ceschi 216; B: Ceschi 272; C: photo by author.



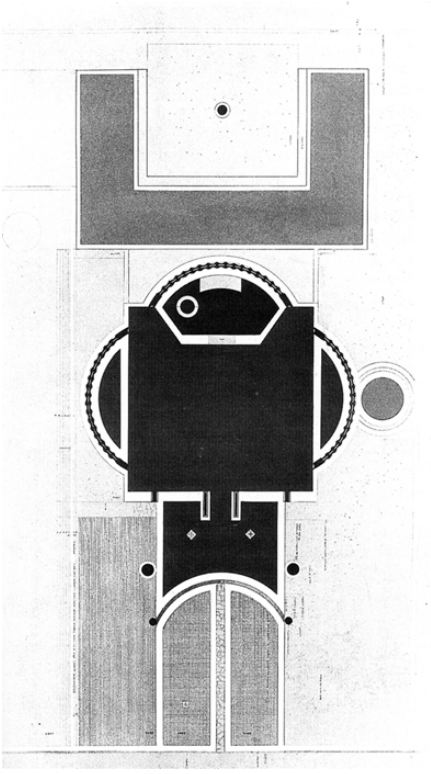


25. S. Maria della Mercede e S. Adriano
(was: S. Maria della Mercede)
Marco Piloni
1958
Viale Regina Margherita - Via Basento 100
Hall church.
See Alemanno, 2: 81-83; Ceschi 217, 274-5;
Rendina, 207.
Photos by author.



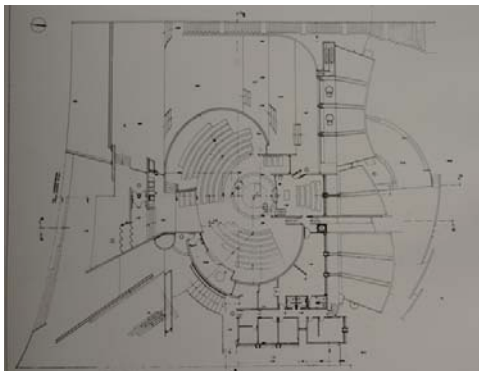
26. S. Maria della Visitazione
Saverio Busiri Vici
1969-71
Via dei Crispolti 142/144
Centralized, square plan.
See Busiri Vici, *L'architettura di Saverio Busiri Vici*; Mavilio, 92; Ratti, 98-99.
A: Busiri Vici, *L'architettura di Saverio Busiri Vici*, 120; photos by author.

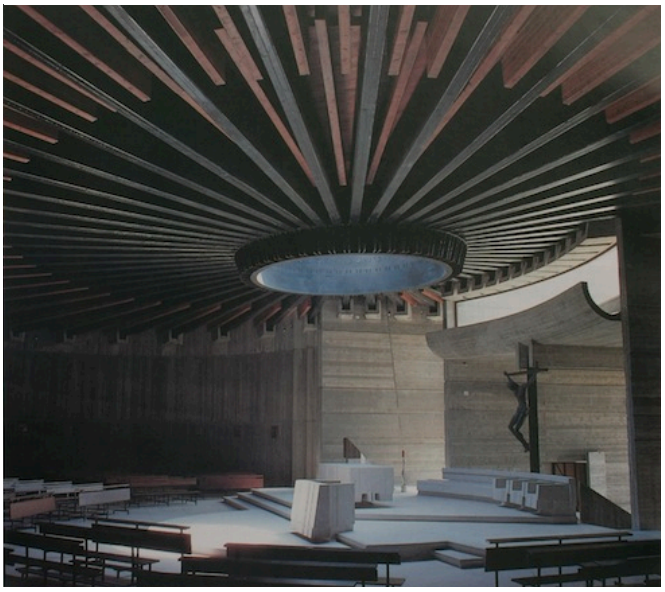
27. S. Maria Stella Maris
Ennio Canino
1975-79
Viale dei Promontori 113
Centralized plan.
See Mavilio, 197; Ratti, 26-27.
A: Ratti, 26; photo by author.



28. S. Mattia Apostolo
Ignazio Breccia Fratadocchi
1976-80
Via Renato Fucini 285
Centralized radial plan; radial focus.
See Mavilio, 96-97; Ratti, 62-63.
Photos by author.

29. S. Melchiade
Giuseppe Spina
1974-77
Via Costantiniana 19
Centralized radial plan; radial focus.
See Amina, "Chiesa di S. Melchiade Papa a Roma;" Mavilio, 96-97; Ratti, 60-61; Spina.
A: Spina, 35; B: Spina, n.p.; C: Spina, n.p.



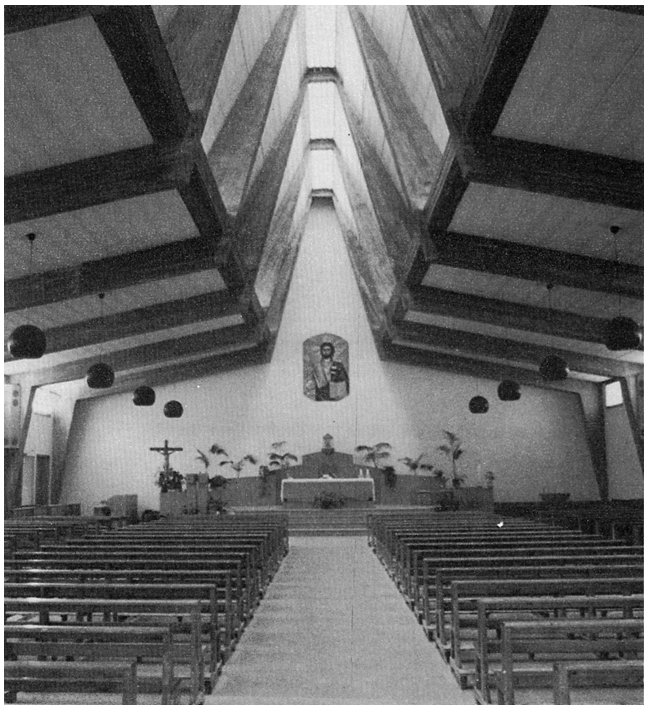


30. S. Monica
Ernesto Vichi
1971-76
Piazza S. Monica 1
Centralized, square plan; radial focus.
See Mavilio, 200-201; Ratti, 118-19.
Photos by author.

31. S. PioV
Tullio Rossi
1952
Largo S. Pio V
Basilican church.
See Alemanno, 2: 96-98; Ceschi, 211-12, 258-61; Mavilio, 246.
Photos by author.

32. S. Policarpo
Giuseppe Nicolosi
1960-67
Piazza Aruleno Celio Sabino, 50
Centralized, hexagonal plan; longitudinal focus.
See Argenti; "Chiesa parrochiale di S. Policarpo a Roma;" Lenci; Mavilio, 158-59; Poretti; Rebecchini, "L'insegnamento;" Storelli.
Photos by author.

33. S. Ponziano
Giuseppe Russo Rocca
1970-74
Via Nicola Festa 50
Basilican church.
See Mavilio, 98; Ratti, 120-21.
A: Ratti, 121; B: photo by author.

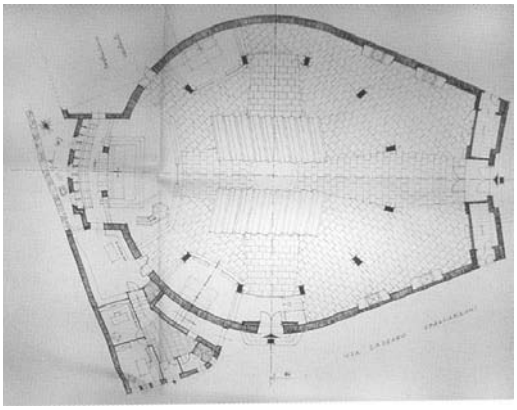


34. S. Valentino
(was: S. Valentino al Villaggio Olimpico)
Francesco Berarducci
1979-86
Via Germania 13
Longitudinal, rectilinear plan; longitudinal focus.
See Mavilio, 102-103; Moltedo, et al, 119-20; Rossi, Lamberto; Purini; Zoffoli.
A: Benedetti, *L'Architettura delle chiese contemporanee*, 92; photos by author.

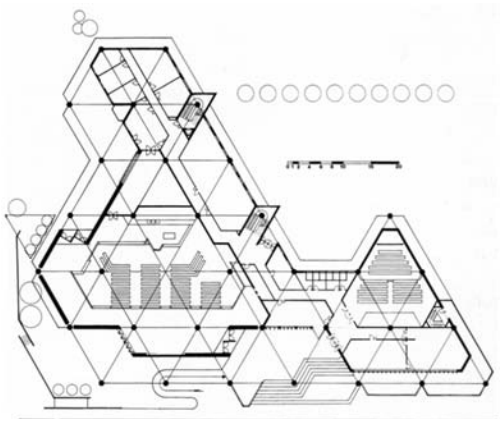
35. SS. Cuori di Gesù e Maria
Paniconi and Pediconi
1954-59
Via Poggio Moiano 12
Hall church.
See Ceschi, 229-30, 309-10; Mavilio, 105; Muntoni.
A: photo by author; B: Ceschi, 310.

36. SS. Redentore a Val Melaina
Ennio Canino
1975-78
Via Monte Ruggero 63
Basilican church.
See Mavilio, 110; Ratti, 28-29.
Photos by author.

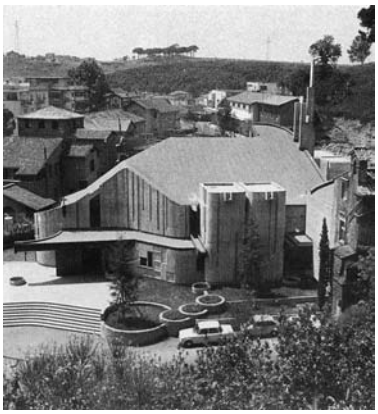
37. SS. Sette Fondatori
(was: Chiesa del Perpetuo Suffragio)
Alberto Tonelli
1946-56
Piazza Salerno 4
Centralized, elongated plan;
longitudinal focus.
See Ceschi, 222, 288; Mavilio, 107-108.
C: Mavilio, 108; other photos by
author.



38. SS.ma Trinità a Villa Chigi
Piero Sampaolo and Walter Vannelli
1976-79
Via Filippo Marchetti 36
Centralized, polygonal plan; radial focus.
See Mavilio, 111; Ratti, 114-15.
A: Ratti, 114; photos by author.



39. SS. Urbano e Lorenzo a Prima Porta
Giorgio Pacini
1969-71
Vicolo di Prima Porta 6
Longitudinal, mutiform plan; longitudinal focus.
See Mavilio, 109; Ratti, 116-17.
A: Ratti, 116; other photos by author.



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VITA

Timothy Kent Parker was born in Ada, Oklahoma, on January 7, 1967, to Beverly Lois Parker and Robert Louis Parker. After graduating from Maranatha High School, Sierra Madre, California, in 1984, he attended Point Loma College, San Diego, California, for one year. He received the Bachelor of Architecture degree from the College of Environmental Design at California State Polytechnic University, Pomona, in 1990, and was licensed as an Architect in California in 2001, and in Texas in 2007. He graduated from California State University, Long Beach, with a Master of Arts in Philosophy in 2001. As a graduate student in the School of Architecture, The University of Texas at Austin, he has worked as a Teaching Assistant and as an Assistant Instructor. In 2008 he began teaching as an adjunct Assistant Professor in the Department of Philosophy, Religion, and Humanities at Austin Community College, and in 2010 became the founding Director of the AESA Arts & Humanities Institute in Austin.

Permanent Address: 1913 West 36th Street, Austin, Texas 78731

This dissertation was typed by the author.